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THE SETTLEMENT OF ILLINOIS FROM 1830 TO 1850

BY

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THE SETTLEMENT OF ILLINOIS FROM 1830 TO 1850

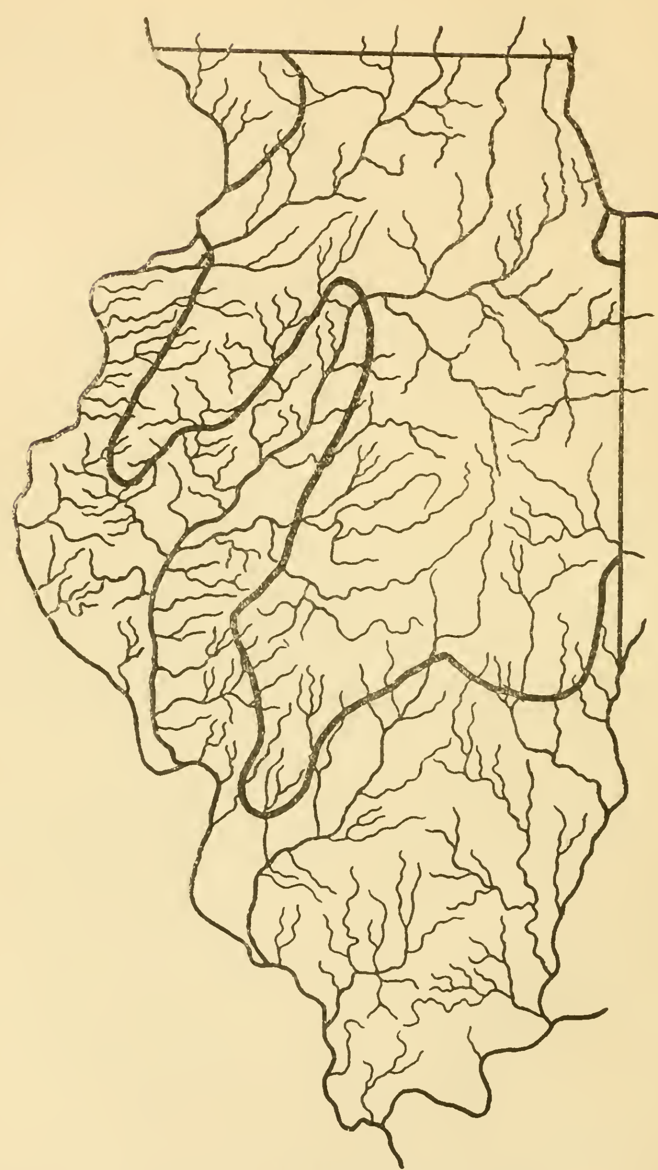
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The state of Illinois offers a unique opportunity for the study of the westward movement and of the influences determining the character and location of settlement. Owing to its size, its favorable location, the routes by which it can be reached, its varied physiographic divisions, its abundance of internal waterways, its numerous stretches of woodland, its extensive prairies and the time taken for the frontier line to cross the state we may well expect to find within its limits a varied population.

The settlement of the state may be divided into four clearly defined periods, viz: (1) the period of the French occupation; (2) from the coming of the Americans to the opening of steam navigation on the Great Lakes; (3) from the opening of steam navigation on the Great Lakes to the opening of the railroads across the prairies; (4) after the opening of the railroads.

This investigation deals with the third period of settlement (approximately from 1831 to 1850) which itself is conveniently divided into four periods somewhat less clearly defined than the general divisions already noted. First of these minor divisions is the period extending to the Black Hawk War; this serves as an introductory period for the greater development soon to follow. Second is the period of speculation and rapid settlement which extends to the collapse of the internal improvement system in the state. It is difficult to fix a date for the



THE PRAIRIES AND WOODLANDS OF ILLINOIS

North and east of the heavy line is prairie country, less than 20 per cent. woodland. South and west of the heavy line is woodland, over 20 per cent. (Goode, *The Geography of Illinois*, 7.)

close of this period since the effects of the fall of financial credit were not felt as quickly in some parts of the state as in others. The date falls between 1837 and 1840. The third period extends to 1845 and is one of depression. The last period, which follows 1845, is marked by a revival of confidence in the financial condition of the state and a gradual increase in the stream of immigration. In this period is felt the influence of the proposed railroads. In a general way it is characterized by solid and substantial growth in wealth and population.

Previous to 1830 the natural order of progression had been observed in the movement of settlement to the West. The hunter-pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee had firmly established themselves in the southern woodlands of Illinois and had begun to send out new pioneers who traveled up the great internal waterway of the state, the Illinois river, or passed over into the Military Tract and followed the wooded banks of the Mississippi northward to the lead mines. These pioneers had become a permanent part of the state's population but as yet had not ventured away from the woodlands. They were content to cultivate their little clearings in the timber until succeeded by the small farmer, who, in turn, was succeeded by a third class, the more substantial farmer in search of a permanent location. The prairies were still unknown and the social organization of the South was waiting for some means by which the difficulties accompanying the subjugation of the prairies could be overcome.

The new force came too late to aid the earliest class of settlers, for events operated in such a way as to act as a check upon the expansion of the hunter-pioneer. In 1832 the Black Hawk War broke out, driving the out-posts of settlement backward into the stronger southern communities and before a recovery of lost ground could be effected a more powerful check was administered to the expansion of settlement from the southern part of the state. It was a new force in the westward movement and by means of it the natural order of succession of classes was overturned and the class of substantial farmers was first upon the prairies of northern Illinois. The opening of

steam navigation upon the lakes, therefore, introduced a new class of pioneers into the westward movement. They were not in possession of a fund of experience gleaned from pioneer ancestors who for generations had battled with the hardships and problems of the frontier. They were simple farmers who were placed upon land already partly cleared by nature for occupation; but the clearing had been done on such a grand scale that the abundance of riches caused trouble in the attempt to make use of them. With these prairie settlers the discussion is chiefly concerned and 1830 is taken as the starting point.

The influence of lines of transportation coupled with the influence exerted by the prairies of northern and eastern Illinois has operated to change the character of the western pioneers. As the route of the Ohio and the southern wagon roads gave character to the settlements in the South, so the northern route was to give character to the settlement of the northern counties and, owing to the increased rapidity of communication and the increased volume of immigration, the effect, if anything, was to be more marked.

A dovetailing process had gone on in the central part of the state where the men from the Middle States and New England elbowed their way in between the timber tracts of the South, while the southern man chopped his way northward, through the timber along the rivers, until he had reached Woodford, Marshall and Putnam counties. Here the characteristics are not so marked.

A comparison of those of the northern and southern ends of the state will, however, bring out clearly the distinction. Instead of a gradual settlement by successive classes in the North, as there had been in the South where the hunter and backwoodsman with his rifle and hunting knife slowly moved onward before the increasing tide of civilization, combatting the savages and wild beasts, we see another development. The pioneer was rapidly transported from his native state to the West by the aid of steam and his conquest of the new country was effected with like rapidity. Instead of the rifle and hunting knife he brought his oxen and his farming implements. Nor was this all; the merchant, the artisan, the school master

and the preacher came also. The foundations of civilization were laid rapidly and creation rather than growth seems to have been the order of things. The savages having left, the pioneer had a free hand and the spread of settlement went on with corresponding celerity. Churches and school houses sprang up, together with comfortable dwellings, for the log-cabin age did not last long on the prairies.

Physical characteristics, too, have had an enormous effect upon the location of population. Along the streams lay the timber and to the timber went the early settlers both from north and south, for they knew little of the prairies. In the valleys of the larger rivers the lowlands were at first not occupied owing to floods and general unhealthfulness; in the districts near the head waters of the rivers, the valleys were not so low; neither did the rivers tend to overflow for such extended periods. Consequently we see the settlements closer to the streams, although still seeking, when possible, the elevated portions of land near at hand. It is also true that on the more level expanses of the state, away from the large rivers, the timber was first occupied. When the next influx of settlers came an additional layer of settlement was formed around the timber lands and removed from them by the space of a mile or so.

For years one of the greatest problems of the settlers was to find markets. The navigable streams were the highways of communication and here and there along them were towns of considerable prosperity, owing to the fact that the surrounding agricultural regions poured in yearly crops of produce to be shipped down the streams to more advantageous markets. Moreover, it was to these towns that the farmers were obliged to come to obtain their supplies from the eastern cities and by means of the traffic to and fro, the towns gained in prosperity. Few, indeed, and small were the inland towns for the reason that they afforded no markets. To the lack of markets, then, can be traced the internal improvement excitement which struck the state in 1836. Cost of transportation from Galena around by way of the Mississippi and the Ohio to the East was excessively high and it was too far to cart such a heavy product as lead across the state to a lake port. The southern farmers like-

wise were obliged to cart to a river port; those of central Illinois looked to Chicago for a market, often going one hundred or one hundred and fifty miles with farm produce at the cost of much time. Internal improvements were meeting with success in other parts of the land, so it was natural that they should be attempted in Illinois where markets were in great demand.

The succeeding periods show like development and it is highly probable that little by little the prairies would have been assimilated, but it would have been a slow process, owing to the difficulties of transportation and of finding markets. When 1850 came, the northern part of the state presented a peculiar bird's eye view—strips of comparatively closely settled country stretched away in every direction, indicating the timber tracts, while between them was the unoccupied prairie. Here lay the work for the railroads and these, by practically annihilating distances, created markets by bringing the producer and the consumer together, gave the settler something to cling to when he swung clear of the timber; in short, gave him the key to the prairie.

Exceptions are, of course, to be found to the general laws controlling the settlement of the prairies, but they are not frequent enough to overthrow these laws which seem to be the basis of the occupation of northern and eastern Illinois.

The object of this discussion is to show the progress of settlement on the Illinois prairies, paying special attention to the influence of physiographic conditions, to lines of communication and to the change which took place so abruptly in the character of the pioneer class of the West, and to show the differences existing between the pioneer of the woodlands and the pioneer of the prairielands. Causes for the settlement are to be noted, as well as such settlements as appear to be exceptional in character and illustrative of some peculiar phase of the westward expansion.

CHAPTER II

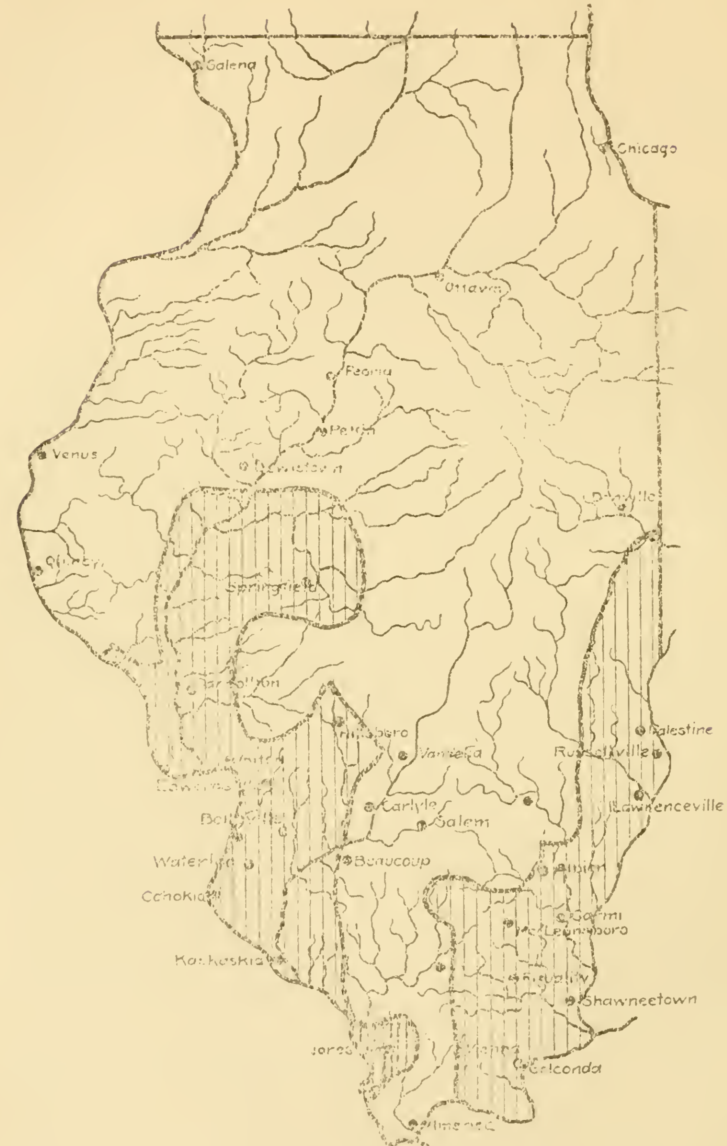
Illinois Before 1830

For many years subsequent to the Revolution, Illinois attracted but little attention. The legislature of Virginia, however, in 1778 organized a county to which it gave the name now borne by the state and appointed for this newly organized county a magistrate called a Lieutenant Governor. It came under the control of the confederation when ceded in 1784 by Virginia.

Although for years Kentucky and Tennessee had afforded homes for pioneers who had found their way over the mountains to the western world, Illinois and the Northwest seemed to offer few inducements. After visiting the territory northwest of the Ohio, preparatory to its organization into the Northwest Territory, Monroe wrote to Jefferson in a tone which showed that he had as yet no comprehension of the future greatness of this seemingly desolate country. "A great part of the territory is," he said, "miserably poor especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie, and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had from appearances, and will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."[1]

For a time it seemed that Monroe had spoken truthfully for, as yet, the railroads, the steamboats and the farming implements which were to be of service in the settlement of the great prairies were unknown. Changes, however, soon began to take

[1] Monroe, *Writings*, 1, 117.



Illinois in 1830

Shaded portion shows location of settlement: six or more per square mile; by counties.

place. The soldiers of George Rogers Clark carried with them to the East tales of a wonderfully fertile and well-watered land and soon the familiar story of pioneer life was re-enacted in the river valleys of Illinois. The descendants of the frontiersmen who had chopped the first trails across the Alleghanies and who first wandered through the lonely western wilderness and built the small stockaded hamlets of Kentucky and Tennessee, impelled by the same restlessness which carried their fathers toward the West now moved across the Ohio to continue the struggle with wild nature and the wilder redmen, for possession of the territory which today constitutes the state of Illinois.

The scene of earliest settlement in Illinois was the great American Bottom. The settlers were the French who acted as a connecting link between the French of Canada and the Great Lakes and those of the lower Mississippi. The American Bottom, so called to distinguish it from the Spanish possessions across the river, was an extremely fertile tract of land extending from the mouth of the Kaskaskia to the mouth of the Illinois and containing about six hundred square miles.[2] The French settlements extended along this bottom from Kaskaskia to Cahokia more than fifty miles, and back a few miles from the Mississippi. By 1800 the French creoles in these settlements numbered about 1,200.[3]

Several generations had flourished here happily under the mild sway of French officials—the military commandant and the priest—who ruled the people with an uncontrolled but parental authority. Separated from all the world these people acquired many peculiarities in language, dress, manners and customs. Many of their original traits were lost but still many of the leading characteristics of the nation were retained. The people were kind-hearted, hospitable and social but rivalled the Indians themselves for ignorance and laziness. A fruitful country made agriculture profitable when carried on, but the great amount of game within easy reach tended to make the young Frenchman follow the life of a hunter rather than that of a

[2] Brown, *Western Gazetteer and Emigrants' Guide* (1817), 20.
[3] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 19.

farmer.[4] In mechanic arts no progress had been made; the old wooden plows used in the early days still served the needs of this unprogressive people.

The dress and homes of this quiet people were equally simple. Coarse blue cotton clothes, deer skin moccasins for their feet, blue handkerchiefs for their heads were worn by both sexes. In cold weather the skins of animals replaced the cotton clothing. Log houses, a single story high, with puncheon floors and thatched roofs were their abodes. The furniture was designed for usefulness rather than ornament.[5]

Around the village was a large tract known as the common field. Most of this was allowed to remain in open pasturage but parts were cultivated by those who chose to enclose them. Occupancy gave a title to land but all reverted to the community when occupation ceased.

So the Americans found them, a people of simple habits, unambitious and submissive, unoppressed by taxes or political grievances, recognizing a single church and under the leadership of the village priest who was their guide, friend and philosopher.

By 1781 the earliest American settlements had been made in the American Bottom. In 1800 there were three hundred and fifty families settled here, most of the men having been soldiers of George Rogers Clark during his campaigns against Vincennes and Kaskaskia. Two colonies of Virginians had come in 1786 and 1793 settling at New Design and in the surrounding country forming the nucleus of the American settlements.[6] Other settlers came from the various eastern states.[7] In all the population of the state numbered 2,000 in 1800.[8]

During the first decade of the new century population increased rapidly,[9] but the greater part was still in the American

[4] Hall, *Sketches* (1835), 1, 148.

[5] *Magazine of Western History*, 10, 562.

[6] Settlements were made at Horse Prairie, Whiteside Station and Bellefontaine in Monroe county and at Turkey Hill in St. Clair county.

[7] There were settlers from Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New England.

[8] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 19.

[9] The census of 1810 states population as 12,284; Reynolds, *Illinois*, 19. gives population as 2,000 in 1800.

Bottom although the frontier line was gradually moving towards the interior of the state.[10] Across the territory in the Saline district a center of settlement had begun to form. In 1803 the salt springs had been purchased from the Indians and leased by the government to Captain Bell, a Kentuckian.[11] Shawneetown, the center of the district, soon began to give evidence of becoming a town of some importance especially as a commercial center. It was on the Ohio river, the great highway for traffic and travel to the West and even at this early date "great fleets of keel-boats concentrated at this point engaged in salt and other traffic."[12] Indian treaties during the decade opened up millions of acres of Illinois land for settlement but in spite of this fact the settlements still clung to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.[13]

From the formation of Illinois territory in 1809 until the close of the War of 1812, the settlements were engaged in a struggle for existence. Many were abandoned during the war, on account of Indian troubles. In the years immediately following 1810 the Chippewas, Kickapoos and Pottowatomies committed so many murders and thefts that Gov. Edwards raised a military force to suppress the disturbers. One expedition destroyed a French village at Peoria which had been the headquarters of a band of savages who ravaged the country.

Reports of the unhealthfulness of the new country, of Indian outrages, of earthquakes, and the insecurity of land titles all operated to retard the flow of settlers from the eastern states. Owing to the fact that Illinois had, at different times, been under French, British, Virginian and Federal rule, land titles were often conflicting. A commission appointed in 1804 labored for ten years to adjust these titles previous to the opening of the land sale at Kaskaskia in 1814. The pre-emption act of 1813 did much to secure the pioneers in their possessions.[14]

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[10] Ridge Farm, Goschen, Wood River, Silver Creek, and Shoal Creek were the new settlements.

[11] Moses, *Illinois*, 1, 265.

[12] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 63.

[13] The treaties of Ft. Wayne (1803); Vincennes (1803); St. Louis (1804) and the second treaty of Vincennes (1804) opened 28,000,000 acres of Illinois land to settlement.

[14] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 291.

With the passage of this act and with the cessation of Indian raids after the close of the War of 1812 a new epoch in the settlement of the state began. The settlers acquired confidence, land rose in demand and in value.[15] New Englanders and foreigners came in greater numbers than ever before. The close of the European wars had ruined the lucrative commerce of New England and thrown many out of employment, some of whom found their way to Illinois.

The great highway of travel was the Ohio river. A writer of the time says "there is scarce a day except when the river is impeded with ice but what there is a greater or less number of boats to be seen floating down its gentle current to some place of destination. No less than five hundred families stopped at Cincinnati at one time, many of them having come a great distance."[16] From Kentucky and Tennessee groups of pioneers still came seeking the extreme frontier.

Others came from the South Atlantic states. Cotton culture had, through the invention of the gin and through the prevailing high prices, become exceedingly profitable. The plantations were increasing in size and numbers and the introduction of the industry into the uplands tended to crowd out the small farmer since his more wealthy neighbor could offer prices for land which practically compelled him to sell. Some who moved went to the Gulf States; others wishing to avoid the competition of slave labor turned to the northwest, and it became a familiar sight to people along the roads of western travel to see the old southern wagons covered with white sheeting and loaded with an enormous quantity of beds, buckets, old-fashioned chairs and such household furniture as was usually owned by our log-cabin ancestors, slowly rattling along their way to the West.

On the eastern side of the territory the district of the Embarras was still the northern limit of settlement although there were a few settlers as far north as Edgar county. Crawford county with Palestine as a center of settlement had 2,100 settlers at the time of the admission of the state.[17] Russelville

[15] Brown, *Western Gazetteer and Emigrants' Directory* (1817), 33.

[16] Harding, *Tour through the Western Country*, 5.

[17] *History of Crawford and Clark counties*, 108.

in the county next to the south was the center of population. Directly to the west of Wabash county was the English settlement of Albion in Edwards county. This settlement, begun by Birkbeck and Flower, was one of the most important ones in Illinois.[18] Gallatin county with Shawneetown as its chief settlement was the most populous county on the eastern side of the territory, having in 1818 about 3,200 settlers.[19] Thirty or forty of these families resided in Shawneetown. A bank and a land office helped to make this village a decidedly important one. America with a population of several hundred was the chief southern town.[20] Cairo had a "local habitation and a name" having as yet not fulfilled the expectations of its founders.

On the western side of the territory the pioneers grouped their settlements into three divisions, those settlements around the Big Muddy river, those along the Kaskaskia and those north of this last named district extending as far as Peoria. Of these the settlements along the Big Muddy were the weakest for the people moved very slowly towards the center of the state.

The old Kaskaskia district was still the most populous one in the territory.[21] Settlements had been made along the Kaskaskia and its tributaries for a considerable distance towards the interior. Kaskaskia, the seat of the territorial government, had a large floating population but the increase of permanent settlers was not large. There were in the town in 1815 between seven and ten hundred people.[22] Belleville, Cahokia, and Prairie du Long were the other important settlements of this part of the state.[23] In the interior there were few settlers.[24]

In the district above Kaskaskia, Edwardsville, the county town of Madison county, had sixty or seventy houses, a courthouse, a jail, a bank, a land office and a newspaper.[25] Alton

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[18] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 349.

[19] Dana, *Sketches of Western Country* (1819), 153.

[20] *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski counties*, 449.

[21] Estimated at 11,842 (Dana, *Sketches of the Western Country* (1819), 153).

[22] Edwards, *Illinois*, 254.

[23] Cahokia had a population of between five hundred (Moses, *Illinois*, 1, 267) and one thousand (*Life of Gurdon S. Hubbard*, 47).

[24] Bond county had only forty settlers in 1818 (*History of Bond and Montgomery counties*, 181). The Washington county settlements were at Covington, Beaucoup and Carlyle.

[25] Dana, *Sketches of the Western Country* (1819), 143.

had one hundred houses, the owners of many of these being people from the eastern states and in comfortable circumstances.[26] The other settlements were smaller.[27] In all the population of Madison county was estimated at from 4,000 to 5,500.[28]

Beyond the frontiers already mentioned (the line of the Ohio and Wabash, the immediate vicinity of the Big Muddy and of the Kaskaskia and in Madison county) little settlement was to be found in the territory. The Kickapoos, a warlike Indian tribe, held undisputed possession of central Illinois and continued to do so until the Treaty of Edwardsville was signed in 1819.[29] A few venturesome Kentuckians and Tennesseeans, together with some from the older settlements on the western side of Illinois had, however, pushed into the Sangamon country before the Indian title had been extinguished. These were the only settlers of the region.

Far to the north in the lead region the first permanent white settlers were beginning to locate on Fever river. Likewise a few were at Ft. Dearborn which had been rebuilt in 1816. The Military Tract, although laid off, was as yet entirely unoccupied.

The population of the territory when it began to seek admission into the Union was 30,000. Since 40,000 was necessary for admission it devolved upon the census takers to make up the deficiency. One very effective plan was to station the enumerators on the largest thoroughfares so they might be able to count explorers, movers and settlers. As a result more than one family of ten people grew to three or four times that number when finally placed in the census books.[30]

Varied indeed was the population as the following quotation shows. "The early settlement of Clinton county will illustrate the heterogeneous nativity of early immigrants. Before 1820

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[26] *Ibid.*, 142.

[27] Mound Piaira and Milton were the other settlements. The latter had fifty houses (*History of Madison County*, 83).

[28] In the *History of Madison County* (130) the population of the county is given as 4,000; Dana, *Sketches* (1819) 153, gives an estimate of 5,500.

[29] Henderson, *Early History of Sangamon County*, 7.

[30] Brown, *Early Illinois*, 82, in *Fergus Historical Series* 2.

there was a little group from Ohio; another from England, and several representatives from Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and one man from the Isle of Wight.''[31] It is true that the pioneers from the Southwest exceeded the others in numbers but foreigners, people from the Middle Atlantic states and New Englanders were far from being unknown in any of the regions. The Ohio river was the means of directing these settlers to southern Illinois and adding the northern element to the preponderating southern stream which had come by way of the wagon roads.

Fifteen counties had been organized but altogether they formed but one-fourth of the territory and were by no means thickly settled. A line drawn from Alton, on the Mississippi, through Carlyle to Palestine on the Wabash would mark the northern extremity of settlement, but by no means does it mark the settled portion of the territory.[32] The pioneers clung closely to the great river systems, making their clearings and erecting their cabins along the banks of these streams.

Within the boundary stated were prairies of considerable size, some of them being three days journey across.[33] The settlers, as yet, had not ventured upon them, believing them entirely unfit for settlement. Palestine, Palmyra, Carmi, Shawneetown, Golconda and Albion were the population centers of eastern Illinois at the time of its admission. On the west Jonesboro, Brownsville, Kaskaskia, Harrisonville, Belleville, Cahokia, Edwardsville and Alton were of greatest importance. In the interior, Perrysville and Covington were the centers. Of these Kaskaskia, the seat of government and Shawneetown were the best known and thither as a rule the early pioneers came and from these points made explorations for the purpose of finding suitable places to settle.

The year 1824 marks a turning point in the growth of the state. By the ordinance of 1787 slavery had been forbidden in the Northwest Territory, but it nevertheless existed in some portions of Illinois. A considerable number of the settlers of

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[31] *History of Marion and Clinton counties,* 54.
[32] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois,* 302.
[33] Breese, *Early History of Illinois,* preface 3.

the state being southerners who favored the institution, an attempt was made in the early twenties to call a convention to revise the state constitution in such a manner as to make slavery lawful.[34] The defeat of the plan came in 1824 and from that time dates an increase in immigration. Growth now went on more rapidly and when 1830 came the fifteen counties of 1818 had grown to twenty-six and the population was 157,445[35] instead of the scanty 40,000 required for admission.

New settlements continued to spring up and the older ones to increase in size.[36] America, Greenville, Mayville. Frankfort, Equality, McLeansboro, Vienna, Lawrenceville, Salem, Waterloo, Pinckneyville, Jonesboro, Fairfield and Vandalia each grew to some importance before 1830,[37] the last named one being made the capital city of the state in 1819.[38] These towns were in the immediate vicinity of the rivers and often in the timber lining the banks.

Albion was an exception to the rule, however, having no water communication close at hand. Faux, who was not entirely friendly, describes the village in 1820 as having but "one house and ten or twelve log cabins, full of degenerating English mechanics, too idle to work" who passed their time eating, drinking, brawling and fighting. The streets were almost impassable owing to stumps and roots of trees protruding and puddles of dirty water standing before the doors of the cabins.[39] The town by 1830 had grown considerably, mechanics of every discription were here and a hotel, a smithy and some stores had taken the place of the cabins.[40]

Shawneetown had grown from a town of three or four houses to a town of sixty houses and three hundred inhabitants in

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[34] Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 27-49.

[35] *Eleventh Census* (1890), 14.

[36] In 1819 some Shakers established a settlement in Lawrence county on the Embarras river. Frederick Ernst, a German of wealth and education, founded a German settlement at Vandalia in 1819 (Reynolds, *Illinois*, 183). Scattered settlements were made along the Little Vermilion, the pioneers being generally engaged in salt making.

[37] *The National Calendar*, (1830).

[38] *History of Fayette County*, 12.

[39] Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, 269; Smith, C. W., *A Contribution toward a biography of Morris Birkbeck and the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1905), Fordham, E. P., *Personal Narrative.* (Ogg, F. A. Editor).

[40] Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 2, 237.

1826.[41] It was still, at the close of the decade 1821 to 1830, the chief town of the eastern side of the state and the landing place of a great portion of the immigrants coming by way of the Ohio.[42] Cairo made no headway and in 1826 was still a village with only a tavern and a store.[43]

The villages of southern Illinois at this period were but frontier settlements containing from one to two hundred inhabitants and many not more than twenty or thirty.[44] The rivers were the connecting links between the settlements and the chief lines of communication with the outside world. Roads, too, were opened up between the chief centers of settlement. From Vincennes, Shawneetown, Golconda and America roads went across the state to St. Louis and Kaskaskia. Throughout the timbered tracts the settlers were scattered, forming ribbons of settlement from the two great rivers on the south and west of the state; but few indeed ventured further. Even as late as 1830 the Indians came back to hunt within the limits of settlement and fear of them retarded the advancement of the frontier.

Although southern Illinois was as yet not thickly settled, it had begun to throw out lines of pioneers towards the north. The eastern portion of the state close to the rivers was well taken up, as was the western part, but between the two lay the unoccupied portion. Rather than risk the attempt to settle and cultivate the prairies, the new settlers preferred to go farther towards the frontier. It was a simple and natural force which impelled them. The fathers and grandfathers of these men from Kentucky and Tennessee had battled with nature in the woodlands of the Southwest; the pioneers themselves had grown to manhood surrounded by the woodlands, they were, in the settlement of Illinois, merely putting into operation the results of the experiences of two or three generations of pioneers. To them the prairies offered insurmountable obstacles with which they felt it was useless to cope. When the

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[41] *History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin and Williamson Counties*, 95.

[42] Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 359.

[43] *The Americans as They Are*, 78.

[44] Patterson, *Early Society in Southern Illinois*, 109, in *Fergus Historical Series*, 2, 14.

timberland of southern Illinois was all claimed, the stream of men from the old settlements slowly urged their oxen northward through the settled portions to the new country which at that time was rapidly gaining in fame. Here in this Sangamon country the hunter-pioneer found an ideal land and here we find the re-enactment of the scenes of the first settlement of the extreme southern portion of the state.

The fertile land of central Illinois, south of the Sangamon river, was well watered and also well timbered. A few settlers had found their way here before the Kickapoo title had been extinguished by the Treaty of Edwardsville in 1819, but it was not until the decade 1821 to 1830 that the true settlement took place. It was with a certain degree of confidence that the settlers took possession of the new land, for they were comparatively close to the strong settlements north of the Kaskaskia river and thus in touch with the rest of the state.

Here a sort of experimentation began. Between the tracts of timber land were inviting stretches of prairie upon which, owing to the proximity to the timber, the sod was not so tough nor the grass so long as it was on the large prairies. The transition from woodsman to prairie cultivator on a small scale was here made easy. The cabin, as before, was built at the edge of the timber, if water was convenient, and a portion of the prairie was fenced. The friendly timber gave shelter from the excessive heat of summer as well as from the cold prairie winds of winter; and moreover it furnished a refuge for stock in summer when the open prairie was infested by myriads of horse-flies. The open prairie saved the pioneer an enormous amount of labor generally necessary to make his clearing and he soon found that crops grew as well or even better here than on cleared land. Success was then assured in the subjugation of the prairies, providing they were very small ones, where every man could, figuratively speaking, keep his back to the timber and his attention on the prairie.

It must not, however, be understood that the settlers went immediately to such places where they were able to take advantage of both prairie and woodland, for settlement clung closely to the woods of the Illinois river and its tributaries for several years.

Two hundred families were in the Sangamon country prior to 1820 and of these, sixty were grouped on Macoupin, Apple, and Otter creeks, within thirty miles of the Illinois river.[45] Cass, Morgan and Scott counties, lying immediately between the Sangamon and Illinois rivers, had only twenty families in 1820.[46] Farther east along the Sangamon were a few scattered families and others had ventured across the river to Macon county by 1827.

The question of slavery in Illinois having been settled in 1824, immigration set in with renewed vigor, reaching its greatest development in 1827 and in 1828.[47] The settlers came in groups of five or ten families although it was no uncommon sight to see one hundred wagons in a single company going to the Sangamon country.[48] Steam navigation had begun on the Illinois river in 1828 and by connecting the frontier with the older settlements strengthened the former to such a degree that from these younger settlements a new migration soon began to take place. The extension took place rapidly and by 1830 the timber lands of the Sangamon were densely enough populated to warrant the erection of six new counties.[49] The population of this Sangamon country in 1830 was 42,385.[50] Of these twenty-eight were slaves.[51]

Springfield, at first called Calhoun, was established in 1819.[52] Although it was perhaps the most important town in this part of the state in 1830 and had between six and eight hundred settlers, it was still characterized as "a straggling village."[53] Jacksonville in Morgan county was about the same size, and the other settlements were of less importance.[54]

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[45] Dana, *Sketches of the Western Country*, 144.

[46] *History of Cass County*, 18.

[47] *History of Macon County*, 34.

[48] Perrin, *History of Jefferson County*, 124.

[49] Greene, Morgan, Macoupin, Montgomery, Macon and Shelby.

[50] *Eleventh Census*, (1890) 15.

[51] *Niles' Register*, 43, 35.

[52] Barber and Howe, *History of the Western States*, 1072.

[53] Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 2, 216-224.

[54] Carrollton, in Greene County, was begun in 1818 (*History of Greene County*, 328); Hillsboro, in Montgomery County, settled in 1817 or 1818 (*History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 215); Decatur, in Macon County, was settled in the early twentie , (*History of Macon County*, 31); Shelbyville, in Shelby County, was settled in 1825 (*History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties*, 42).

The Military Tract which comprised all the territory between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers as far north as Rock Island county, had been allotted by the Federal government to the veterans of the war of 1812.[55] Few of the original grantees deemed the land of sufficient value to repay the labor of settling and cultivating and consequently but a small proportion took advantage of the opportunity afforded for obtaining farms. Those who lived close to the region, however, were awake to the value of the land, and many settled upon it as "squatters" without any valid title save that of occupation. To make improvements under the existing circumstances was a venture which led to doubtful returns. Often, indeed, when the pioneer had succeeded in making his clearing, building his cabin and perhaps breaking a little plot of prairie land, the holder of the original patent would appear upon the scene and oust him. So frequent was this procedure that it soon became a profitable business for a certain class of men to obtain these squatters' claims by means of forged patents and it gave rise to much trouble.

The process of settlement in this part of the state was identical with that of the portions already studied. The two great rivers served as connecting lines with the older settlements of the South and along the tributaries we find the first settlers establishing themselves. Peoria, the oldest town in this part of the state had been deserted in the closing years of the eighteenth century. In 1813 Ft. Clark had been built and in 1819 the first permanent settlers came to Peoria.[56] In 1825 the county was organized and had at the time a population of 1,236[57] which included all the settlers of the northern part of the state.

The counties at the southern end of the Tract (Calhoun and Pike) are broken and hilly near the rivers. Gilead in Calhoun county and Atlas in Pike county both situated in the timber within convenient distance from the river but away from the unhealthful bottoms were the only villages in 1830. Along the creeks of Schuyler and Brown counties, Kentuckians, Virgin-

[55] *History of Fulton county*, 191.
[56] *History of Peoria county*, 273-274.
[57] Ballance, *Peoria*, 45.

ians, Pennsylvanians, Carolinians and Tennesseeans settled beside men from Indiana, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois. Lewiston and Canton in Fulton county completed the list of settlements of importance on the eastern side of the Tract.

Adams county was the most populous district on the Mississippi river north of the mouth of the Illinois and Quincy was the largest settlement.[58] Venus in Hancock county was the only other settlement of note in 1830. Few settlers had gone to the interior.[59]

In all there were about 13,000 people in the Military Tract in 1830[60] and by far the greater percentage were close to the great rivers forming the boundaries of the district. In character the population was the same as that of the Sangamon country, for the settlements along the Illinois river were only outgrowths of the older Sangamon settlements. The Kentuckians and Tennesseeans appeared frequently as in southern Illinois taking possession of the timberlands and leading a half-hunter, half-farmer life. New Englanders and men from the Middle States, however, were much more numerous than in other parts of the state.

At the lead mines in the extreme northwestern part of Illinois an exceptional settlement had already begun to form. Lead had been found years before in the hilly region near the Mississippi and after 1818 a steady stream of adventurers flowed here. Southerners came in great numbers owing to the convenient line of communication. By 1830 there were over 2,000 settlers at the Illinois mines and many more at the Wisconsin and Iowa mines.[61]

The primary object of this settlement was not to find suitable farming lands well-supplied with timber and water. It was to

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[58] In 1825 there were forty votes cast at a county election (*History of Adams county*, 262); in 1830 the population was 2,186. (*Eleventh Census* [1890] 14); the population of Quincy was estimated at two hundred in 1830 (Asbury, *Quincy*, 41).

[59] Warren, Mercer, Henderson, Knox and Bureau counties had a combined population of less than six hundred and fifty. (*Eleventh Census* [1890] 14.)

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*

take advantage of the mineral deposits. Timber and water were found in abundance, and also an excellent line of transportation but these things were of secondary importance and had the mines been found on the open prairie it is highly probable that the settlement would have sprung up as rapidly as it did under the existing conditions.

Chicago as yet showed no signs of its coming greatness. Lake navigation by steam had not yet begun, nor had the settlers of Illinois approached near enough to Lake Michigan to look to Chicago for a market or a supply depot. The population of the little village did not number more than one hundred.[62]

The population of the entire state in 1830 numbered 157,500 people.[63] The population map for 1830 shows a nicely rounded line of settlement which leads an unquestioning observer to believe that the advance of the frontier took place with mathematical precision. Closer study will reveal a different state of affairs. Along the Ohio river and its numerous tributaries on the eastern side of the state was a comparatively densely settled area. Between the projecting ribbons of settlement which lined the streams were the prairies as yet hardly occupied. The same is true of the western side of the state along the Mississippi. The Illinois river furnished the road to central and northern Illinois.[64]

The pioneer of the Illinois frontier was still of the hunter type. He was primarily a woodsman who had come to the new country with his rifle, axe and hunting knife prepared to attack the problem of the frontier in the same way his ancestors had attacked it in Kentucky and Tennessee generations before. He changed little before 1830, for his cautious contact with the small prairies of the South gave him little real capital with which to attack the broader expanses of the North. Practically shut off from the prairie, he followed the woodlands until the outbreak of the Black Hawk War in 1832, which date marks

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[62] *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1875.

[63] *Eleventh Census*, (1890) 14.

[64] The census maps use the county as the unit, and therefore exhibit as settled many areas really vacant.

the beginning of a sudden and sharp transition in pioneer characteristics. Before 1832 the settlement of the state was only a continuation of pioneer days in the older states. Now a new problem confronted the tide of pioneers who were crossing the continent. On the wide treeless expanses of eastern and northern Illinois were to be solved the problems which gave rise to a new class of frontiersmen—the prairie pioneers.

CHAPTER III

Causes for the Settlement of Illinois

The Americans as a people are prone to migrate. From the earliest date at which the settlements scattered along the shores of the Atlantic ocean were able to push their limits one mile up the rivers towards the back country the gradual movement to the West has appropriated the land step by step until the entire expanse from coast to coast has been brought under the direct control of the race.

The census of 1850 shows that of 17,737,000 free inhabitants in the United States at that date over 4,100,000 or twenty three per cent. had migrated from the states of their birth.[1]

A general law concerning the order of classes seems to have been followed in this movement of settlement to the West, especially before transportation by steam lent its enormous influence towards the development of the great West. First came the hunter-pioneer; next, the small farmer who drove the hunter farther toward the frontier and who himself gave way in time to the third class of settlers, the larger farmers whose aim was to improve the land, erect homes and become the permanent occupants of the country.

The causes leading to this movement towards the West are of two classes; general causes affecting the entire nation, and special causes affecting localities at various times and in varying degrees. The general causes may be grouped under three heads: the restless spirit pervading all classes, the systems of internal improvements developed during the period, and the financial causes.

[1] *Abstract of the Seventh Census*, (1850) 15.

The restless spirit which ever aimed towards expansion and economic betterment is the great one among the general causes; its growth was the result of a combination of local causes and of general causes which operated constantly throughout the period. Dissatisfaction with existing conditions was prevalent among all classes. Moreover, it was believed that these conditions could be improved in the new country where land was cheap and fertile and could be acquired and turned into fruitful farms with a reasonable effort upon the part of the settler.

There were in every community, citizens who had lost their credit and of necessity needed new homes. In the woodlands these people became solitary pioneers who felt most at ease when "twenty miles from law and calomel" and who breathed easiest when the nearest neighbors were ten miles away. The farm laborers who, dissatisfied with the existing scale of wages in the older communities and understanding the science of agriculture well enough to manage and work farms of their own, moved to the frontier, took up government lands and laid the foundations of new settlements beyond the limits of civilization. These became the small farmers who moved along in the wake of the hunter-pioneers.

To a considerable degree the farmers in the West were influenced by comparative land values. The available lands in the East were mostly cultivated and brought high prices. The small farmer had not the means with which to buy out his neighbor should the latter desire to sell. In the West vast stretches of land were offered for sale by the government at low prices and consequently there was a desire among the eastern farmers to take advantage of the opportunity offered and by disposing of their small but high priced farms to those able and willing to buy, they could take up larger and more fertile farms in the western country.

In earlier years the history of public lands is that of large companies. Later, by successive changes in the administration of such lands the prices and quantities were placed within the reach of the smaller purchaser. When in 1820 the price was reduced to a dollar and a quarter per acre and land was sold in lots as small as eighty acres, the incentive for the migration

westward was increased. The effect is seen when we notice the Foote resolution introduced into the House in December, 1829, asking that an inquiry be made concerning the advisability of the rapid sale of the public lands. The significance of this lies in the fact that the rapid sale of public lands at low prices was draining the East of its laboring class and acting as a detriment to the industrial enterprises which the eastern men were at that time attempting to foster.

Again in 1834 when the question of ceding the public lands to the states in which they were situated was reported upon by Henry Clay, the committee stated that it was not of the opinion that the cession should take place, or the price of land be reduced, giving among other reasons that such a procedure would operate as a bounty to increase emigration from the older states, lessening the value of the eastern lands and draining them of currency and population.[2]

To intensify the feeling of restlessness and dissatisfaction already existing, another influence was brought to bear on those who remained at home, by the people who had dared the privations of the frontier. Letters from successful pioneers painted, in bright colors, the wonderful opportunities of the West; companies, formed with the idea of taking up land and speculating in it, sent hundreds of thousands of circulars to the East, worded in such a way that their readers felt that the time for the rapid accumulation of wealth was at hand, and thousands hastened to take advantage of the golden opportunities. Newspapers, in some regions, aided in the work, pointing out the advantages to be derived by farmers, and especially laboring men with a small amount of capital, should they but move to the West.[3] Moreover, the effect of western competition in agricultural products was pointed out and it was shown that before the lapse of any great period of time the rapidly growing West would undersell the East in its own market.

Rivalry among the great eastern cities for western trade gave a cause for migration. The internal improvement systems developed by the efforts of the various states in the attempt to

[2] *Senate Documents*, 323, 23 Congress, 1 Sess., 24.
[3] *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Mar. 24, 1846.

benefit their cities afforded, when completed, an easy access to the West. The dissatisfied settlers, who hitherto had needed only some such stimulant to start him to the new country now took advantage of the opportunity presented by a comparatively easy journey westward. Others who were making a comfortable living on their farms decided to remain at home but the new lines of communication influenced these people in another way. The West was growing and its farms produced ever increasing amounts of grain. Home markets could not consume the supply, so the products were turned eastward through these lines of communication and brought into competition with the produce of the eastern farm. Prices fell and the man who had remained at home could no longer make his comfortable living and was compelled either to lower his standard of comfort or to move to the West where it could be maintained.

If a system of roads produced a noticeable effect upon the volume of migration westward, the introduction of steam navigation had a still more marked influence. The inconveniences of travel were diminished and the cost of transportation decreased by the steamboats of the Ohio river and the Great Lakes which soon became the means of travel of an ever-increasing number of immigrants. The importance of steam navigation in aiding in the development of the West may be best illustrated by a quotation. "Of all the elements of prosperity of the West—of all the causes of its rapid increase in population, its growth in wealth, resources and the improvement of its immense commerce and gigantic energies, the most efficient has been the navigation by steam."[4]

Third in the list of general causes was the financial depression which swept over the country in the closing years of the decade 1831–1840.[5] The panic can be attributed to no one thing. Prominent among the causes was over-speculation. Suddenly the people of the East saw that there were fortunes to be made in western lands and no sooner was the discovery

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[4] *Memorial of the People of Cincinnati* (1844), 28.

[5] See, Bourne, *The Distribution of the Surplus*; Dewey, *Financial History*, Ch. X; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, 2., Ch. XIX; Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*; Shephard, *Martin Van Buren*, Ch. VIII.

made than the price of town lots, either real or imaginary, went up to enormous prices. "Wherever the surveyor took the magic chain and compass—no matter how remote from population—there it became certain that a mighty city would, at no distant day, arise."[6] Walls of buildings in the various cities were covered with maps of towns that were still miles in the woods or feet under water. Hundreds of acres of land which were valued at prices ranging from one hundred to one thousand dollars have not yet reached the value at which they were sold and resold during these months of frenzied speculation.

Farmers, traders and capitalists were, however, not the only classes to become involved in the general upheaval during the closing years of the thirties. As a result of the increase of speculation there was a movement among the laboring class, and a general demand for an increase of wages, to correspond with the increase in prices. To attain this end, combined efforts on the part of laboring men were necessary and a tendency towards the federation of labor became distinctly marked. Trade unions were formed, and before 1840, ship carpenters, joiners, house carpenters, painters, roofers, brick-layers, tailors hatters, harness-makers, shoe-makers, masons, factory operatives, and others had organized unions.[7]

The upward movement of prices was such that the average cost of a workman's living was twenty-one per cent. greater in July, 1835 than it was in April, 1834 and sixty-four per cent. greater in October, 1836 than in 1834.[8] Higher wages and the "ten-hour" day were the demands. Immediate concessions were the only remedy and when these were not obtainable, strikes followed. From 1834 to 1837 the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, Hartford, Trenton, Washington, Natchez, St. Louis, Cincinnati and Louisville all experienced labor troubles culminating in strikes, showing the wide-spread influence of the movement.[9]

The days of the greatest monetary inflation saw the wages of the laborers increased to a considerable extent, and quietude ruled for a time. The revulsion came in 1837. Employers at

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[6] Balestier, *Annals of Chicago*, 25, in *Fergus Historical Series*, 1.
[7] *Yale Review*, 1, 87.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1, 94.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1, 98.

first reduced the number of hours each laborer should work and upon finding this of no avail, reduced the wages of the laborers. With the fall in labor prices there came no corresponding fall in prices of commodities. The army of the unemployed grew rapidly and in September of 1837 the *New York Era* says "We can state on the best authority that in the eastern states nine-tenths of the factories have been stopped and the same proportion of men, women and children thrown out of employment."[10] Resulting from this change in the condition of the laborers, meetings of a more or less riotous nature occurred in various cities, but the most notable consequence was the unusual immigration to the West,[11] for these people, lacking the means for support in their native cities, took up the heritage of the poor man, cheap lands in a new country.

To the causes which operated throughout the entire land, local causes must be added if we are to understand the reasons for the increase and decrease in the volume of the westward movement. In New England there was a never ceasing desire "to see how things went in other parts;" a desire to find a land which offered better advantages for accumulating wealth than were found at home and as a consequence we find Yankees everywhere. They moved up the river valleys of their native states into the newer regions of northern New England; next, they settled western New York and later moved westward into Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa. They found their way to the southern states and even to the West Indies.[12]

The surface of New England, much broken by hills and rocky ledges, while it does not afford the best facilities for agriculture on a large scale, offers opportunities for small farming. The common grains—rye, corn, and buckwheat, together with potatoes and garden vegetables, were produced along the hillsides and in the valleys with considerable success.[13]. Wheat growing was never a source of wealth to the New England

[10] *The New York Era*, Sept. 5. 1837.
[11] *Yale Review*, 1, 99.
[12] *Niles' Register*, 59, 224.
[13] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 5, 201.

farmer[14] and of the other products little more than home supplies were produced.

The farms were small, generally from fifty to two hundred acres, divided into fields disproportionately small; sometimes fifteen or twenty fields making a single farm.[15] The implements of husbandry were simple and did not afford the best results. By 1830 all the available lowlands were taken up and the hillsides were being used, especially in Vermont. The rising generation of young men finding how difficult it was to support themselves on one hundred acres or less, turned their eyes to the West.

If wheat could not be cultivated with advantage, and if the narrow valleys did not afford support for a numerous agricultural class, there was an industry which would flourish, but unfortunately it, too, tended pratically to diminish the amount of cultivated land. The wool industry had received a great impetus when the Merino sheep was introduced. "The providential acquisition of this inestimable animal" says a New England paper "is in every point of view worthy the attention of all classes of citizens, especially farmers. The golden fleece of the Merino sheep presents to every prudent and thrifty farmer a mine of wealth from which he may draw to his industry, economy and the extent of his means."[16]

The value of the industry to the investor had been further enhanced by the protective tariffs of 1824 and 1828, the greatly increased foreign demand and the competition among the wool dealers at home. The average price of wool in Vermont for the decade 1831–1840 was fifty-two cents a pound.[17] After 1839 a gradual decline took place.[18] Farmers interested in varied agriculture had been unusually unsuccessful, especially with their wheat crops from 1824 to 1837[19] and many looking for better fields of industry turned to sheep raising. In western

[14] *The New Englander*, **52**, 338.

[15] *Atlantic Monthly*, **26**, 333.

[16] *Boston Patriot*, Oct. 3, 1810.

[17] *House Misc. Document*, 105, 52 Cong., 2 Sess., 319. Prices sometimes rose to ninety cents per pound (*Niles' Register*, 40, 292).

[18] *Niles' Register*, **72**, 331.

[19] Goodhue, *History of Shoreham* (Vt.), 59.

Massachusetts, in the Berkshire Hills, and in hill towns of the Connecticut valley wool growing was one of the most lucrative pursuits.[20] Factories continued to spring up to increase the demand for wool.[21]

Sheep farming, to be conducted with the greatest profit, requires more extended tracts of land than do the other agricultural pursuits, so the demand for desirable land in New England grew rapidly as did the prices paid for it. Wealthy men found paying investments by buying the land of the small farmer, even at advanced prices. Sales were practically compelled for the poor man was offered prices he could not afford to refuse.

The crisis of 1837 and a crop failure in the same year brought economic distress to New England and helped to swell the numbers migrating. A decline in the price of wool followed and although the tariff act of 1842 acted for a time as a stimulus to the manufacture of wool, it did not remain in operation long enough to make clear what its permanent effect would have been.[22] Here, it appears, began the decline from which the sheep farming industry did not recover.[23]

About this time the farmers became interested in dairy farming and when the railroads of the forties increased the value of dairy products by opening up the markets in the cities many

[20] *House Misc. Doc.* 105, 52 Cong., 2 Sess., 239; *Niles' Register,* 49, 68.

[21] In 1832 the value of woollens in Mass. amounted to $6,500,000; in 1837 they were valued at $10,400,000. There were nearly two hundred mills in operation manufacturing over 11,300,000 yards of cloth yearly. (*Eighth Census* (1860), xxxii.)

[22] Taussig, *Tariff History,* 144, cf. *Eighth Census* (1860), xxxii.

[23] *House Misc. Doc.* 105, 52 Cong., 2 Sess., 343, gives the following statistics concerning sheep and wool:

	Wool (lbs. produced)		Sheep (number)	
	1840	1850	1840	1850
Maine	1,465,551	1,364,034	649,264	451,577
New Hampshire	1,260,517	1,108,476	617,390	384,756
Vermont	3,699,235	3,400,717	1,681,819	1,014,122
Massachusetts	941,906	585,136	378,266	188,651
Rhode Island	183,830	129,692	90,146	44,296
Connecticut	889,870	477,454	403,462	174,181
Total	8,440,909	7,055,509	3,820,307	2,257,583

gave up wool-growing for dairying. The effect upon the supply of land was the same as before.

It appears that these causes combined to decrease the agricultural population of New England, if relative amounts of products may be taken as a basis for comparison.[24] The productions of wool, wheat, oats and rye had decreased in varying degrees in most of the states.[25] The cultivation of corn had increased. The number of cattle had increased in Maine and Rhode Island but in all other states had decreased as had the number of horses, sheep and hogs.

The decrease of the agricultural class can be accounted for in two ways; these farmers either moved to the cities or to the West. During the decade 1831–1840 when the sheep industry had reached its height and the rapidly developing cattle industry was claiming the New England lands, many of the small farmers preferred to go into the less populous states of Maine and New Hampshire. In these states land was not costly and upon the whole was good for cattle and sheep farming in spite of the severe winters experienced there. By 1840, however, there were no longer extensive new areas in New England and again a change came in the direction of the tide of emigration.

The industrial life of the New England people was altered at this time and for a while at least this seems to have stayed the flow from this section. With the decline of agriculture there came an increased activity along manufacturing lines. During the decade of 1841–1850 manufactures almost doubled in value, giving employment to an increased number of hands. By 1850 over 298,000 people were employed and $158,000,000 were invested in the factories of New England. Massachusetts alone had in 1850 manufacturing industries valued at $83,360,000 which almost equaled the amount invested by all the New England states at the opening of the decade.[26]

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[24] A change of methods in the censuses of 1840 and 1850 will not allow conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of figures denoting inhabitants engaged in agriculture.

[25] Rhode Island showed an increase in the amount of oats; Vermont, of wheat.

[26] *Compendium of the Seventh Census* (1850), 179; *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840), 111-127.

It is reasonable to believe that the class turned from agriculture would attempt to gain a livelihood by taking advantage of the opportunities manufacturing offered. At this point, however, a new influence acted to turn the New Englander westward. Foreign immigrants were landing on our shores in constantly increasing numbers and many of these people remained to seek employment in the eastern cities.[27] These foreigners furnished a large percentage of the laboring class of the factories and by beating down wages compelled their American competitors to withdraw. The New Englanders, moreover, did not care to be associated with the foreign workmen and hence social as well as economic influences operated to hurry great numbers of these New England people westward over the Great Lakes again to become farmers on the prairies of the Middle West.

In the Middle Atlantic states conditions also favored emigration. "Hard times" was the complaint of farmers, manufacturers and laborers in New York and Pennsylvania. Numerous memorials to Congress came from New Yorkers in 1834 asking that body to make some attempt to alleviate the distress prevalent throughout the state. From Albany came the complain of a lost market and a great cut in the wages of the laboring men;[28] from Rochester came the news that the flouring mills had closed on account of the instability of money;[29] from Otsego county a memorial was presented saying that the merchants could not collect their accounts; that mechanics could find no employment; that real estate was on the decline and loans could no longer be obtained; that manufacturing interests could not continue to operate to any advantage and that commercial confidence was fast being lost and general stagnation of business threatened.[30] From Ontario county, an agricultural district, came the report that produce had fallen in value from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent.[31] Like conditions prevailed in

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[27] McLaughlin in *Popular Science Monthly*, July, 1904; *The Nation*, May 27, 1869.

[28] *Senate Debates*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 1179.

[29] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 1722.

[30] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 1780.

[31] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 1475.

Pennsylvania. From Lancaster,[32] Murray,[33] Montgomery,[34] York,[35] Mifflin,[36] Union,[37] and other counties came memorials to Congress during the year 1834.

Among the laboring classes uneasiness was evident but in the period of speculation and of inflated wages and values during the years immediately preceding 1837, the wage earners seemed content. When wages began to decline, however, and the prices of living did not decrease in a like proportion, labor troubles followed in the larger cities. An example of this is the 'flour riot' in New York in 1837.[38] Rents remained high as did prices of commodities. Labor was in over-supply and the crowd seeking employment in the cities seemed constantly to increase. A paper of the time commenting upon this increase attributed it to the fact that the facilities for securing good educations were so liberal and so generally accepted throughout the state—New York— and that whenever the younger sons of the farmers were qualified to engage in commercial pursuits they almost invariably hastened to the cities in search of employment, thereby diminishing the agricultural class and increasing the laboring class to the detriment of both.[39] Laborers' wages decreased and by 1840 the decrease ranged from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent.[40] and conditions seemed not likely to improve. Newspapers discussed the situation and some did not hesitate to advise every class of laborers to embrace the first opportunity offered for emigrating to the West.[41]

Conditions seemed equally unfavorable for the farming class and a decrease of the agricultural population took place in many of the New York counties. In Dutchess county from 1830 to 1835 there was a decrease in the population which would have been more marked had not the towns of Poughkeepsie and

[32] *Ibid.*, 23 Con., 1 Sess., 825.
[33] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 1187.
[34] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 1803.
[35] *House Debates.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 4188.
[36] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 4039.
[37] *Ibid.*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., 3642.
[38] *Panics in the United States*, 20.
[39] *Wisconsin Enquirer*, June 25, 1842 (from the *Albany Daily Advertiser*).
[40] Hazard, *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, May 6, 1840.
[41] *The New Yorker*, April 22, 1837; July 21, 1838.

Fishkill each added considerable numbers to their population through the development of manufactures. The decrease was attributed to "emigration to the West"[42] In Columbia county the hard times of 1837 and 1838 were felt and the effects were noticeable in the unusual number of business and dwelling houses offered for sale.[43] Likewise in Chautauqua, Chenango, Genesee, Ontario, Schenectady and Otsego counties either a decrease was noticeable during the years following 1837 or the increases were very small and these due not to agricultural but to urban development.[44] In the case of Chautauqua county, especially, there had been, since 1835, a steady decline.[45]

This decrease was not a local thing as the *Commercial Advertiser*[46] shows, for in 1840 in more than two hundred towns of the state there were fewer farmers than in 1835, due to the fact, the writer of the article shows, that it cost more labor than formerly to produce agricultural products. "Unless a more systematic form of husbandry be adopted" says the writer, "the farms of this state will not exceed in price the worn-out lands of Maryland and Virginia." Legislative aid was necessary but was slow in coming. Competition by western produce became yearly a more potent factor in driving down prices; concentration of property and rapid increase of mortgaged lands each lent its aid to increase the existing dissatisfaction with the economic situation and consequently to aid the movement westward.

To competition, a considerable part of the westward emigration may be attributed and for the cause of this rapid increase of competition we must look to the Erie canal. While the canal was a work as general in its character as any undertaking of the kind could well be, it exercised a negative influence upon the welfare of farmers living beyond a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles from it, and was the means of retarding the

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[42] *Niles' Register*, 49, 226.

[43] *History of Columbia County* (N. Y.) 1, 329.

[44] *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 19, 1845; Oct. 10, 1845.

[45] From 1830 to 1835 the increase had been 10,200; from 1835 to 1840 it was but 2,700 and from 1840 to 1845 there was a decrease (*History of Columbia County* (N. Y.), 1, 345; *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Oct. 10, 1845.

[46] Aug. 12, 1845.

advancement of agricultural interests in the northern and southern counties of the state[47] In fact it held out inducements to the farmers in these counties to emigrate.[48]

Prior to the opening of the canal wheat and other grains were grown in large quantities in the fertile valleys of New York and found profitable markets; but the high prices paid in eastern markets rapidly drew western grain eastward when facilities for transportation were obtainable. In 1835 when the cost of sending wheat from Illinois to New York City averaged from twenty-five to thirty cents a bushel[49] the Illinois farmer found it profitable and nearly 100,000 bushels besides a considerable amount of flour passed through the canal from the West during the year.[50] Ten years later it cost the Illinois farmer but five cents a bushel to send his wheat to Buffalo.[51] The effect is seen in the 1,355,000 bushels of wheat, which, with 717,500 barrels of flour and 3,000,000 pounds of wool, passed through the canal from the West during that year.[52]

The competition was too severe for the New York farmers and numbers were compelled either to change their industries to the more profitable ones of grazing and dairying or to move to the cheap lands of the West, where they, too, could take advantage of the fertile soil and cheap transportation. The Erie canal had been completed at the expense of the tax-payers of New York. Now each successive tax levy which was used to keep the canal in repair served only to make the taxpayer's property decrease in value owing to competition it helped to create. The result of the canal policy seems evident—it operated against the welfare of the farmers who did not live in direct contact with the canal and forced them in many cases to leave the state in search of more advantageous locations.

The concentration of property also did its work towards increasing dissatisfaction and thereby increasing the number of

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[47] Winden, *Influence of the Erie Canal* (MSS. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1900).

[48] *American Railroad Journal and General Advertiser* (1845), 58.

[49] *Northwestern Gazette and Galena (Ill.) Advertiser*, Aug. 22, 1835.

[50] *DeBow's Review*, 2, 102.

[51] *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 19, 1845.

[52] *DeBow's Review*, 2, 102.

emigrants. On account of this concentration of property the Anti-Rent troubles broke out among the settlers living along the Hudson and Schoharie rivers in eastern New York. Although the movement was at first of little consequence it increased in violence, culminating in an outbreak of a serious nature which was only subdued by concessions by the landholders.[53]

A like disturbance over the "Genesee Tariff" took place in the Holland Purchase in western New York in 1835. The Holland Land Company had contracted its unsold lands and lands upon which there were outstanding claims and unexpired contracts, to two speculators. The new controllers demanded higher rents as well as the interest which had accumulated upon certain leases. A general uprising of the farmers took place and some lawless proceedings were carried on. These incidents are evidences of a wide-spread discontent in the agricultural class of the state and when coupled with the glowing reports of opportunities offered in the West they throw light upon the agricultural emigration thither.

The fever for the establishment of colonies in the West grew constantly during the thirties and forties and beyond a doubt some people who under other conditions would have remained at home were carried away by enthusiasm for such undertakings.[54]

From Pennsylvania there came a steady stream of immigrants seeking better homes. In the cities conditions similar to those described in New York prevailed for the number of unemployed laborers increased and wages decreased after 1837. Manufacturers were not as successful as they wished to be. Some blamed the insufficient protection afforded by the tariff,[55] but undoubtedly the general financial unsteadiness was the cause.

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[53] *Delaware (N. Y.) Gazette*, Sept., 1874; *Delaware (N. Y.) Courier*, Jan. 29, 1864; Feb. 5, 1864; *New York World*, Jan. 19, 1880.

[54] *Chicago Weekly Amerrican*, June 20, 1835; June 27, 1835; July 9, 1836; *New York Weekly Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1842; *History of Henry County* (Ill.), 135; Edson, *History of Chautauqua County* (N. Y.), 338; Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 292; *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Genesco* (Ill.).

[55] Hazard, *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, 1, 333.

The farmers, save in the more fertile valleys of the state, were not very successful. The soil in the less favored regions was "poor and hard to cultivate" and the country "broken and hilly."[56] In the most desirable localities the process of subdivision of farms had gone on to such a great extent that by the beginning of the thirties the farms were exceedingly small, comprising often but ten or twenty acres.[57] The younger generation growing up at this time was in need of a place to earn a livelihood and some went to the cities, others to the West.

Many of the farmers were renters and each year spent as much money for rent as would buy a western farm. For a decade after 1835 Pennsylvania was flooded with circulars describing the beauties of the Illinois country, recommending the land and offering flattering inducements to settlers.[58] When the less prosperous years came the effect of these circulars became marked and many took their way westward. By 1850 there were nearly 38,000 Pennsylvanians in Illinois alone, but, as the movement was a gradual one and due to no exceptional circumstances, the volume at different years is not easily determined.

From 1830 to 1850 the movement of population in the southern states was one of decided importance. Before 1850 Virginia had lost by emigration twenty-six per cent. of her native-born free inhabitants. South Carolina had lost thirty-six per cent. and North Carolina, thirty-one per cent.[59] Further examination of statistics, will, however show that the movement was probably almost entirely within the limits of the planting states themselves. From 1831 to 1840 Georgia gained nearly thirty-four per cent. in population; Alabama, ninety-one per cent., Mississippi, one hundred and seventy-five per cent. and Arkansas, two hundred and twenty-one per cent. In the next decade, while the percentages of increase were lower, the actual gain in population in these states was little less than in the preceding decade and if Texas, which appears for the first time in the

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[56] Lothrop, *Directory of Champaign County* (Ill.), 118.
[57] Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 8, 88.
[58] *History of Livingston County* (Ill.), 500.
[59] *Abstract of the Seventh Census* (1850), 15.

census reports, be included, the increase was nearly 200,000 in excess of that of the preceding decade.[60]

Just how large a part of this southern stream came to the Northwest is difficult to determine but an examination of county histories discloses the fact that during the decade of 1831–1840, pioneers from the South and Southwest frequently came to take up the woodlands along the Illinois rivers.

To a combination of causes, we must look for the explanation of this migration. The Indian lands of Georgia had been opened for settlement and the cultivation of cotton was rapidly increasing along the 'black belt' of the Gulf States. Moreover, a general depression pervaded the older states of the South in the thirties, due primarily to agricultural conditions and aggravated by the general financial embarrassment of the last half of the decade. From Maryland,[61] Virginia,[62] and the Carolinas[63] came the cry of "worn-out lands" and general agricultural depression. On account of the exhaustive process of the cultivation of the staples, tobacco and cotton, there had been going on for years, a steady impoverishment of the land, but while the price of cotton kept up it was a profitable industry for the planter. A decline in prices, however, set in and following the year 1837 there came a crisis in the cotton industry, which proved a hard blow to southern interests, for prices fell so low that the cultivation of this staple was no longer a paying venture.[64] To make matters worse, the price of tobacco fell in a corresponding degree.[65]

The cause for the ill-success of the agricultural class may be seen in the character of the products. As a staple was the strength and life of the South so was it also the weakness. In good years when crops flourished, all was well, but in poor years when crops failed, disaster followed. Since the rich planter class held most of the best lands of the South, the poor

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[60] *Seventh Census* (1850), 4, 5.

[61] *Niles' Register*, 49, 298.

[62] Martineau, *Society in America*, 2, 41.

[63] *Niles' Register*, 44, 222.

[64] *The Agricultural Prospects of South Carolina: Her Resources and Her True Policy*, in the *Southern Quarterly Review*, 8, 119.

[65] *Niles' Register*, 52, 131.

whites were confined to the less productive portions and from this there arose a tendency to move. In the case of the planter, the removal came with the wearing out of the old lands; in the case of the poor whites, the removal came whenever an opportunity presented itself.

In the southern mind many of the hardships experienced by the people of that section could be attributed to the tariff. This view is shown by Mr. Hayne, senator from South Carolina, who in 1832 presented to the Senate a memorial which stated that, "Although other causes have conspired to reduce the income of the citizens of the south, yet it is the tariff alone which denies them the right of converting that reduced income into such an amount of the necessaries and conveniences of life as would certainly be at their command under a revenue system of moderate duties . . . ."[66] Charleston is the example cited to show the conditions which prevailed during the early thirties. The merchants were bankrupt, the mechanics in despair, grass was growing in the streets, houses were falling in ruins, real estate was reduced to one-third its true value and rents amounted to almost nothing. In the surrounding country the fields were abandoned, agriculture drooping and slaves and masters working harder than ever and faring worse.[67] Conditions were not changed in 1837 as a correspondent writes to the *New York Star*. He points out that the business houses were failing and loans could be had only at rates ranging from four to ten per cent. a month and then only on collateral securities in the shape of jewels and other valuables.[68]

In the Southwest conditions were not much better. A memorial from Louisville, presented to the Senate in 1834 says, "Had a large invading army passed triumphantly through our country, it could not have so completely marred our prosperity. . . . The countenances of our citizens are more gloomy and desponding than when the dread cholera was amongst us."[69] Money here commanded five per cent. a month.

[66] *Senate Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 Sess., 174.
[67] *Ibid.*, 22 Cong., 1 Sess., 80.
[68] *Niles' Register*, 52, 114.
[69] Refers to the removal of U. S. Bank Deposits. (*Senate Debates*, 23 Cong., 1. Sess., 719.)

Another cause operated to turn migration northward during this period. It was the influence of the institution of slavery. Slavery, the emigrants from the South said, had a tendency to create class distinction to a marked degree and to depreciate the effectiveness of free, white labor. As a consequence immigrants came to Illinois from Virginia,[70] West Virginia,[71] Maryland,[72] Georgia,[73] Kentucky,[74] and Tennessee[75] expressly to escape the effects of slavery, which as they said, operated against their interests in their native states. In all probability this was the greatest influence operating to move southern emigrants to northern homes. Free labor in 1832 received but twelve and one-half cents a day.[76] It was unable to compete with slave labor and as a consequence it was compelled to withdraw.

From the states north of the Ohio river, an exceedingly large emigration came to the newer states. The causes for this movement are not clearly defined and much of the emigration can probably be attributed to the ever present desire to obtain better farming lands. Ohio and Indiana were both good agricultural states and owing to the fact that the chief industry was farming the revulsion of 1837 did not affect them to such an extent as it did the eastern states.[77] Monetary affairs in Ohio got into a state of confusion, however, immediately after the panic, for the "Three Dollar Law" was passed, by which no bank was compelled to accept bills of any other bank for amounts of three dollars or less. Considerable trouble was experienced owing to this fact and undoubtedly losses resulted to all classes. Money brought from ten to fifty per cent. a year,[78] which placed it beyond the reach of the average borrower and wrought hardship upon the well-to-do.

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[70] *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Feb. 4, 1848.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *History of Mercer and Henderson Counties*, (Ill.) 803.

[73] Ferrall, *Ramble through the United States* (1832), 166.

[74] *Recollections of John M. Palmer*, 8.

[75] Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 2. 235.

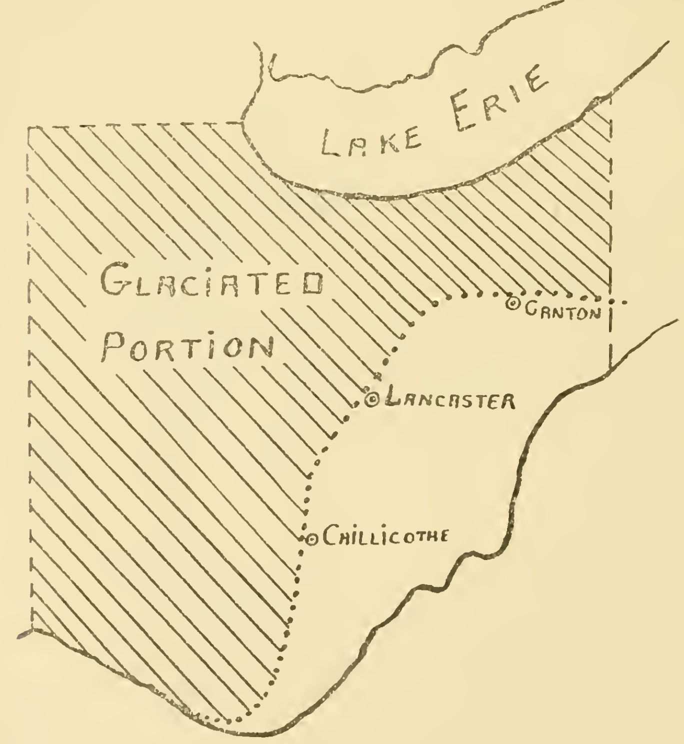
[76] *House Debates*, 22 Cong., 1. Sess., 3154.

[77] *Greene County Torch Light*, (Xenia, O.) Dec. 9, 1839; *Ohio Statesman*, Dec. 3, 1839.

[78] *Green County (O.) Torch Light*, Dec. 9, 1839.

Indiana had its experience with financial troubles. The internal improvement craze which seized upon so many of the states before 1840 affected this state also and coupled with distress coming from too much banking, trading and speculation threw the state deeply into debt.[79] Many left to escape paying their debts; some, ruined by paying them, migrated in search of other homes where they could begin life anew and build up their broken fortunes. Still others seeing the immense debt burdening the state and noting the slowness of the return of financial solidity, feared an increase of taxes, sold their land and moved out of the state to escape the additional burden which they expected would be laid upon the people.

Soils varied greatly in fertility all through the states of the old Northwest Territory bordering on the Ohio river. The Wis-



[79] Haymond, *Indiana*, 216.

consin glacier had moved down over Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, leaving a marked effect upon the fertility of the soil over which it passed. Just how great this difference was can be appreciated only by an examination of the agricultural statistics for the two districts. The accompanying sketch[80] shows in a general way the glaciated and unglaciated portions of Ohio. The portion of the state east of a line drawn through Canton, Newark, Lancaster and Chillicothe has not had the benefit of glacial action. In this area the streams run in deep narrow channels whose valleys are fertile. On the highlands the soil is shallow and the average production to the acre, especially in wheat, not nearly so great as within the limits of the glaciated district, being only as nine is to fourteen. Lacking the depth of soil this unglaciated portion wore out rapidly and the crop returns diminished each year. The census of 1900 shows that on an average the counties inside the moraine produce $5,000 or more of agricultural products per square mile annually, while outside the average production per square mile is between $2,500 and $5,000.[81]

By 1850 the difference in the soils was noticeable. The reports of 1850 for eight counties taken along the middle line of the unglaciated part of Ohio show forty-eight and six-tenths per cent. of the land under cultivation; while in eleven counties selected from those within the limits of the moraine but not bordering upon it fifty-seven per cent. of the land was cultivated showing that farmers were not inclined to allow good land to lie uncultivated. In the case of dairy products the difference was not so noticeable for this industry seemed the best suited to southeastern Ohio.

In land values the difference was still more marked. Outside the moraine, land was worth on an average, thirteen dollars and seventy-five cents an acre while inside it was valued at more than nineteen dollars an acre. In other words, a farm of one hundred acres in the glaciated part of the state was as valuable as one of one hundred and forty acres in the less favored locations.[82]

[80] For map see *Geological Survey of Ohio* (Columbus, 1884,) 5, 755.

[81] *Twelfth Census* (1900) *Agriculture, pt.* 1, *plate* 4.

[82] *Seventh Census* (1850), 862-868.

Like conditions prevailed in Indiana. The unglaciated part of the state lacked fertility and the soil soon wore out. Statistics for 1850 collected from eight counties inside the glacial moraine and a like number outside of it show that glaciated land was valued at twelve dollars and sixty cents per acre, while land not glaciated was worth but six dollars and sixty cents per acre—little more than half as much. The farms in the central part of the state produced on an average fourteen bushels of cereals per acre; in the southern part, the average production was less than eleven bushels per acre. In units of other produce, the difference between the areas was as great; three and three-fourths units being the average production per acre for the glaciated portion and two and two-tenths units the average outside the moraine.[83]

At first glance the differences may not seem marked enough to have had any great effect but to the farmer who spent his time working earnestly it was disappointing to find that he could raise but half as much produce per acre as his neighbor who worked no harder than he and who cultivated no more ground. In these relative land values it seems that a cause for emigration can be found.[84]

The flood of circulars which came from Illinois in the closing years of the forties may have influenced some to move to that state. At home, inducements were offered to some farmers to move since capitalists found it a paying investment to buy up the worn-out farms of southeastern Ohio and by means of fertilizers to restore the strength of the land.[85] Many took advantage of the opportunity to sell and moved away.

A general law which seems to have always been fundamental in the westward movement was doubtless in operation. Ohio and Indiana had been settled with rapidity and had now been in the Union for a generation or more; the boys of the younger

[83] *Seventh Census* (1850), 790–797.

[84] In the selection of examples care has been taken that New England settlements should not be opposed to the southern settlements thus opposing thrift and shiftlessness in agricultural methods. Contrast Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, 3, 570; *Calhoun Papers* in American Hist. Ass'n Reports (1898), 2, 196.

[85] *Seventh Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture* (1852), 408.

generation were growing to manhood and knowing by experience the possibilities of the West and the ease with which the western land could be procured, and knowing the returns obtained by ordinary effort were anxious to become land owners. The families of these pioneers were large as a rule, so a division of the paternal inheritance could not be thought of by the sons and they went out to take up lands for themselves. Traveling by wagon they soon came to the prairies of Illinois and finding the land here exceedingly fertile they were content to settle wherever an opportunity, which generally meant timber, presented itself. An examination of the nativities of the settlers of the eastern Illinois counties will show a great percentage of Ohio men and Indiana men, which leads one to believe that this immigration was a natural agricultural one produced by no special causes save the general desire to obtain better economic conditions.

From the foregoing causes it seems reasonable to believe that the influences bringing about the western expansion in this period, were primarily economic. The movement may be characterized as an attempt upon the part of the American farmer and laborer to widen his industrial field and to uplift his standard of living by taking advantage of the opportunities offered in the new West.

CHAPTER IV

The Way to the West

Broadly speaking the movement of the pioneers across the continent has always been along the lines of least resistance, following in a general way the lines of latitude. Illinois is a remarkable illustration of the latter tendency. In length the state is about four hundred miles and the parallels of latitude which mark its northern and southern extremities include all those states from northern Massachusetts to southern Virginia. In the southern counties of the state a great part of the settlers are descendants of the pioneers who came from the southern and southwestern states; in the northern and eastern counties the settlers, exclusive of foreigners, are principally descended from New Englanders or people from the Middle States.

In the early pioneer days there were four established lines of travel to the West, following trails made by nature. Farthest to the north lay the line of the Mohawk valley, afterwards to be the path of the Erie canal. Next, to the south, was a line of communication which followed the course of the upper Potomac and passed through southern Pennsylvania, western Maryland and northern Virginia. Still farther south lay the roads up the valleys of Virginia opening through the mountain gaps into Tennessee and Kentucky, and lastly there were the trails leading around the southern extremity of the Appalachian system and spreading over the Gulf States.

To trace out any general line of travel is difficult but it appears that there was a tendency for the northern immigrants to move towards the Ohio river or the Great Lakes and follow these lines westward. This tendency is especially noticeable when upon the completion of the Erie Canal the line of water

communication extended unbroken from New York city through the Great Lakes.

Farther to the south it is a still more difficult matter to determine the location of any general route of travel westward. The southerner packed up his household goods, faced the West and traveled by the most convenient road. An illustration of this characteristic is given in the answer made by a North Carolina man who, traveling westward with all his earthly possessions, was asked where he was going. "No where in pertick'lar" he answered. "Me and my wife thought we'd hunt a place to settle. We've no money, nor no plunder—nothin' but just ourselves and this nag—we thought we'd try our luck in a new country."[1] The vague desire for a change of location is shown here as well as one class of people moving from the South in the early decades of the century.

In order to understand the lines of travel, it is necessary to note the convergence of the several minor lines with the great trunk lines and also to note the divergence. From Montreal and Quebec, which were the landing places of many Europeans bound for the Northwest, the St. Lawrence river offered a convenient road.[2] The New Englanders, after the opening of the Erie canal, in 1825, if they lived near the Hudson river valley, were inclined to travel the nearest road to Albany and proceed by water. There was a decided tendency among those living within a convenient distance from Boston to go to that city and thence to Philadelphia[3] or Baltimore[4] and westward by stage, canal and railway to a point upon the Ohio river, generally Pittsburg or Wheeling.

The people of northern and western New York and such other parts of the state as were close to the Erie canal generally followed it to the Great Lakes and thence westward.[5] Still others found it more convenient to go by the southern wagon road leading from Kingston on the Hudson through Ithaca and

[1] *Chicago Weekly American*, June 20, 1835.

[2] *Boston Weekly Messenger*, October 14, 1819.

[3] *Stories of the Pioneer Mothers of Illinois* (*MSS.* In Ill. State Historical Library).

[4] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 52.

[5] *Stories of the Pioneer Mothers of Illinois* (*MSS.* in Ill. State Hist. Library).

Bath to the Alleghany river[6] or to Erie (Pa.) and thence south to Beaver on the Ohio where they embarked upon rafts or steamboats.

Buffalo was the great port for embarking for the West, and so continued after the opening of the steamer lines on the lakes. During the year 1834 some 80,000 people were counted leaving Buffalo.[7] Eleven years later the number had grown to almost 98,000.[8] Thousands of the travelers were destined to the ports of Detroit, Milwaukee and Chicago; the remainder were for intermediate ports, for they did not believe the trip through the entire length of the lakes to be the most advantageous. It was a common occurrence for immigrants to leave the water at Buffalo, or at Erie and then turn south to the Ohio river.[9] Others went to Cleveland and reached the Ohio by way of the Cuyahoga and Scioto rivers.[10] The greater number of settlers bound for the states around the upper Lakes went to one of the three great ports and found their way to their homes by various methods. Some bound for central Illinois left the Lakes at Detroit, came over land to the Kankakee river and floated down it to the Illinois.[11]

Those migrating from the Middle States turned towards the great highways leading from Baltimore and Philadelphia over the mountains to Pittsburg or Wheeling. From Philadelphia the Columbia railway or the Schuylkill river and Union canal connected with the Pennsylvania canal along the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers. This route was followed to Hollidaysburg where the Portage railway commenced. The railway acted as a connecting link between the waterways of eastern and western Pennsylvania. Writers and travelers comment upon it as one of the wonderful achievements of the age. Jones in his *Illinois and the West* (1838) says "the Portage Railroad over the Alleghanies is a wonderful work. . . . The road consists

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[6] Lloyd-Jones, *Routes to Wisconsin* (University of Wisconsin *MS.* Thesis (1902).

[7] *Niles' Register*, **58**, 234.

[8] Albach, *Annals of the West*, 958.

[9] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, **2**, 53.

[10] Stephen A. Douglas came to Illinois by this road in the early thirties. (*Proceedings of the Ill. Ass'n of the Sons of Vermont* (1877) 11).

[11] Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean County* (Ill.), 229.

of five inclined planes on each side of the mountains with their levels. The planes are from three-fourths of a mile to a mile and a quarter in length and the levels from one to sixteen miles. The short levels are furnished with horse power and the longer ones with locomotives.''[12] From 1834 it seems to have been the custom to load the canal boats from the eastern side on cars furnished for the purpose, transport them over the mountains and deposit them in the canal upon the opposite side;[13] from this point (Johnstown) the communication by water was uninterrupted to the Ohio. Some immigrants came by way of Lancaster, Columbia, Chambersburg and Somerset to Pittsburg on the Ohio or to Brownsville on the Old National Road.

Baltimore's connection with the West was by way of the National Road from Cumberland on the Potomac. The Chesapeake and Ohio canal leading to Pittsburg and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to Wheeling although primarily planned to give Baltimore close connection with the western country had been slow in construction. By 1850 the canal was completed only to Cumberland on the Potomac[14] and the railroad had reached this place but eight years before. The latter, however, was of some importance at least in the conveyance of goods to the West, almost 782,000 tons of freight having passed westward previous to 1851.[15]

From the surrounding country along all the wagon roads, came load after load of household goods bound for the various Ohio river towns.[16] Hundreds preferred the National Road to the Ohio, blocking it up with their caravans. *Niles' Register*[17] says ''the National Road has the whole season been blocked up with movers' wagons and from the representations, people enough have changed homes from the east to the west in 1839 to add another state to the national constellation had they all located in a single territory.''

[12] Jones, *Illinois and the West*, 16.

[13] *Galena Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1834 (*Extract from the Hollidaysburg (Pa.) Aurora*); Luchsinger, *New Glarus*, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, **12**, 354.

[14] Ward, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, **17**, 534.

[15] Reizenstein, *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, **15**, 359.

[16] *Wheeling Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1832.

[17] *Niles' Register*, **52**, 224.

From the South Atlantic states much the same general course was followed. The roads up the Virginia valleys converged at the Cumberland Gap, although some movers preferred to travel towards the Potomac river striking the Old National Road there. Still others followed along the road leading through Charlottesville (Va.), Staunton, Lewisburg and Charlestown to Guyandotte on the Ohio.[18] From the Carolinas they followed the Yadkin through Wilkesville, thence northward through Ward's Gap (Va.) across the valley to the Great Kanahwa; or turning southwest from Wilkesville some went through the State Gap (N. C.) and found their way to one of the Ohio river towns by way of the Cumberland Gap. The roads of South Carolina followed the rivers, and converging at the Saluda Gap in the Blue Ridge, passed through Asheville (N. C.), through the Smoky mountains and the Cumberland Gap to Kentucky.[19] As a general rule where there was any tendency to follow a beaten line of travel it was towards some point on the Ohio between Cincinnati and Louisville. If the whole trip was to be by wagon the pioneers generally continued northward across the Ohio to Vincennes (Ind.), Terre Haute (Ind.) or Shawneetown (Ill.)[20]

The great road from southern Kentucky, central Tennessee and the Carolinas lay through Christian and Caldwell counties in Kentucky crossing the Ohio at Ford's Ferry and proceeding along the road through Equality, Mt. Vernon and Carlyle. On this road could be seen every conceivable sort of conveyance from a handsome family carriage to the humblest sort of an ox-cart.[21]

One more regular route of travel must be noticed. This is the Mississippi river. New Orleans was the great port of the South and here a considerable number of foreigners landed each year. Few of these, it seems, cared to stay in the South for the up-stream boats each year brought hundreds of Germans, Irish and other foreigners seeking homes in the interior.[22]

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[18] Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (1837), 323.

[19] *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, 76.

[20] *History of Coles County (Ill.)*, 409.

[21] *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer*, 11.

[22] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide through the Valley of the Mississippi*, 341; *Madison City Express*, April 25, 1844.

The roads taken by the movers from the older states of the Northwest Territory cannot be distinctly marked. The pioneers from Ohio living near the great river or its branches took advantage of this convenient road.[23] Others living along the line of the Old National Road were equally certain to take advantage of it. The people of Indiana, being close to Illinois, were less likely to follow any one of these routes and it is difficult to find information regarding these settlers, other than that they generally came in wagons or perhaps, when not in possession of many household goods, on foot.

As there were points for congregation of immigrants, so were there points for dispersion. Shawneetown, Vincennes and Terre Haute on the eastern border of the state have already been mentioned. Detroit, to the northeast, has also been shown to be a place from which the pioneers spread over the country, some of them reaching northern and central Illinois. On the south, beyond the bounds of the state lay another, Louisville, from which several roads by land and water presented themselves according to the destination of the traveler.

St. Louis was the important point for travelers coming by way of the Mississippi. From this city nearly every point in Illinois could be reached in a reasonably short time since steamboats departed almost daily for all Illinois towns lying along the Mississippi,[24] and others plied up and down the Illinois river.[25] By 1850 this latter line was increased in importance by the opening of the Illinois-Michigan canal which connected St. Louis and Chicago by a waterway. In 1831 stage lines also led from St. Louis to various settlements throughout Illinois. Three times a week the stage left St. Louis for Vincennes, Indiana, passing through Belleville, Lebanon, Carlyle, Maysville and Laurenceville; once a week a stage went to Vandalia by way of Edwardsville and Greenville and once a week to Galena by way of Edwardsville, Springfield and Peoria.[26]

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[23] *History of McLean County (Ill.)*, 467.

[24] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 54; *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, May 27, 1846.

[25] In 1836 there were thirty-five steamboats on the Illinois River. (*History of Menard and Mason Counties*, 501.)

[26] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 54.

In the extreme northwest corner of the state in the lead region lay Galena, the objective point of all immigrants to that region in the early days.[27] It was most easily reached by way of the Mississippi, and in 1822 the "Virginia" on her way to Fort Snelling stopped at Galena, being the first steamboat to enter the port.[28] By 1846 steamers plied daily between St. Louis and this port.[29] As the lead mining industry grew, the importance of Galena as a distributing port for the Northwest grew also. In 1832, ten years after the coming of the first steamboat, one hundred steamboats and seventy keel-boats landed there.[30]

During the time of the earlier days in the northwestern part of the state before the railroads began to operate, the merchants of the section carted their goods overland from Galena, which was the most convenient point for receiving supplies from the east and south. Here, too, was the market of the farmers, or at least the shipping point for markets down the river. So intimate was Galena's connection with the South by means of the great river, that for years its people were decidedly southern in their sympathies as was indicated by the sentiments expressed in their newspapers.

The objective point for immigrants to Illinois after 1834 was Chicago, if the journey was made by way of the Great Lakes. Frequently, indeed, we find mention of the number of immigrants landing at this point and of the rapidly increasing number of vessels employed in transporting these people. In 1833 four vessels came to Chicago harbor,[31] this number increased to one hundred and eighty during the next year[32] and to over four hundred and fifty in 1836.[33] "Almost all vessels from the lower lakes are full of passengers and our streets are thronged with wagons loaded with household furniture and the implements necessary for farming. Foot-passengers, too, with

[27] Strong, *History of Wisconsin Territory*, 118.
[28] *Galena and its Leadmines*, in *Harper's Magazine*, 32, 693.
[29] *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, May 27, 1846.
[30] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 257.
[31] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 18, 166.
[32] *Niles' Register*, 47, 55.
[33] *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, 18, 166.

well-filled sacks on their shoulders come in large numbers.''[34] This was the comment of a Chicago newspaper in 1835. In 1836 the same paper states that the town ''is rapidly filling up with strangers.''[35] After the financial depression which lasted from 1837 to 1842, Chicago again began to feel the westward movement, the *Chicago Express* noting that ''the tide of immigration is gradually setting in again to Illinois.''[36]

At a comparatively early date lines of communication were established from Chicago to various points in eastern, central and northern Illinois. The chief road to the settlements along the Vermilion and Wabash rivers was the 'Hubbard Trace.' or the 'State Road' leading from Chicago to Danville.[37] In 1836 a line of wagons, operating between Chicago and the Kankakee river was established. From this point connections were made with the Illinois river steamboats by means of flat boats. Primarily this transportation line was for the benefit of St. Louis and Alton merchants who were desirous of receiving their goods by way of the lakes.[38] Immigrants, however, took advantage of the conveniences offered. Three years later the Frink and Bingham stage line from Chicago to Galena was in operation advertising that the entire journey of one hundred and sixty miles would be covered by their coaches in two days and that passengers would be carried for twelve and one-half dollars per head.[39]

It has been indicated that, previous to the beginning of steam navigation on the Great Lakes, the amount of travel along this highway was limited. After its beginning the number of passengers desiring transportation increased with astonishing rapidity. With the increased demand by immigrants grew the number of steamers. In 1833 eleven steamboats carried about 43,000 movers from Buffalo to the West.[40] In the next year the number of boats had grown to eighteen[41] but it was not suffi-

[34] *Chicago Weekly Chronicle*, Nov. 21, 1835.
[35] *Ibid.*, June 18, 1836.
[36] *Chicago Express*, June 27, 1843.
[37] Beckwith, *History of Vermillion County*, 651.
[38] *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, Jan. 16, 1836.
[39] *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1839.
[40] MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics of America*, 675.
[41] *Ibid.*

cient to satisfy the demand, for sailing vessels of all descriptions were used. During the summer season of 1835, it was estimated that 1200 people daily left the port of Buffalo bound for the far West.[42] The year 1839 saw the establishment of a regular line of steamers from Buffalo to Detroit and Chicago.[43] There were eight boats in this transportation line and they made trips from Buffalo to Detroit every sixteen days. Between Detroit and Chicago was a line of light boats and by 1847 the traffic on the lakes had grown to such an extent that sixty steamboats and three hundred and forty vessels of other descriptions were necessary to handle the traffic.[44]

The cost of transportation along this route of travel varied considerably as competition became brisk. From Albany to Buffalo at the beginning of the period the fare was fifteen dollars and sixty-two cents[45] by packet. Three years later it had dropped to fourteen and one-half dollars[46] and when railroads got into running order transportation between these points cost eleven dollars by land, and one and one-half cents per mile by the canal, meals to be paid for by the travelers.[47] From Buffalo to Chicago by steamboat cost twenty dollars in 1840;[48] fifteen dollars in 1842,[49] twelve dollars in 1847;[50] and but ten dollars in 1850;[51] steerage passage could be obtained for about half the above prices. Prices on propellers and schooners ranged from four to eight dollars as steerage or cabin passage was taken.[52]

Freight rates varied as did the prices of passenger traffic and charges were made, sometimes by weight and sometimes by barrel bulk.[53] In 1836 the average cost per hundred weight from New York to Chicago was one and one-half dollars.[54] In

[42] *Chicago Weekly American*, July 25, 1835.
[43] *Niles' Register*, 44, 125.
[44] *De Bow's Review*, 2, 102.
[45] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 52.
[46] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide to the Mississippi Valley*, 363.
[47] Norris and Gardiner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 24.
[48] Evanston Historical Society, *Proceedings* (1902), 3.
[49] *Chicago Democrat*, April 13, 1842.
[50] Norris and Gardiner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 24.
[51] Evanston Historical Society, *Proceedings* (1902), 3.
[52] Norris and Garainer, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 24.
[53] *Albany Cultivator* (1841), 8, 53.
[54] *Chicago Weekly American*, July 9, 1836.

the early forties rates from Buffalo to Chicago were quoted at fifty cents per hundred weight on heavy stuff and eighty-seven and one-half cents on light stuff.[55] It is evident from these classifications of rates that room rather than weight was what the shipper paid for.

The amount of goods each mover brought depended upon his financial condition and his inclination to pay freight. Some loaded their horses, wagons and all upon the decks of the boats; others came with only what they could carry on their shoulders. Advice as to what the immigrant should take with him to the West varied greatly. One authority told the travelers that they "should not pay freight on horses and cattle or upon hogs."[56] Another advised it, saying that the immigrants need fear no difficulty in bringing stock with them as several of the masters of boats seemed "to take great interest in the shipment of choice stock to the West."[57] It seems probable, however, that what stock was brought to Illinois by the settlers generally came with those traveling overland.

Speed of travel increased as did the volume. In 1836, seventeen and one-half days were consumed in making the trip from New York to Chicago;[58] by 1840 the distance from Chicago to Buffalo had been covered in two days and two nights.[59] Three and one-half days for the same trip was the best time made before 1850.[60]

The steamers seem to have been regarded as almost perfect as is shown by the enthusiastic description of a lake steamer given by a Chicago newspaper man in 1841. "It is difficult," he says, "to conceive of their superiors whether we regard swiftness or beauty of model. They float upon the water like swans; they move through it like its own finny inhabitants. Travelers from the South and East are in raptures with them and they may well be so."[61] The large boats sometimes carried nine hundred passengers with their luggage at one trip. Many of these

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[55] *Chicago Democrat*, April 13, 1842.

[56] Marshall, *Farmers' and Emigrants' Handbook*, 24.

[57] *Albany Cultivator* (1841), 8, 53.

[58] *Chicago Weekly American*, July 9, 1836.

[59] *Niles' Register*, 58, 288.

[60] *Chicago Times*, Dec. 27, 1841.

[61] *Chicago Weekly American*, Sept. 6, 1841.

probably were deck passengers having no more accommodations than mere shelter from the weather. Towards the close of the forties the railroads which were developing slowly began to divert the passenger traffic from the Great Lakes.[62]

Many immigrants landed in Chicago who had not means enough to take advantage of the stage lines, nor had they wagons of their own. The more fortunate, however, possessing some funds were often able to make an agreement with one of the many farmers hauling produce to Chicago, to transport their goods into the interior. In such cases the owners trudged along mile after mile to their destinations. The Bishop Hill colonists are said to have travelled the entire distance from Chicago to Henry county on foot, and some even came from New York in the same way. In the summer the roads were good but during the spring, before the sun had dried up the moisture, they were in wretched condition.

In early days thousands of settlers had come to the West on river steamers. Illinois, although situated in the very heart of the interior, has exceptional advantages for navigation. Its boundaries measure eleven hundred and sixty miles and more than eight hundred and fifty miles of this extent is made up of navigable waters.[63]

The first attempt to navigate the western rivers by the aid of steam was made in 1811[64] and in 1817 the first steamboat to touch a port on the Upper Mississippi reached St. Louis.[65] Five years later Galena, at the extreme northern limit of the state was reached. Previous to 1811 crafts of various descriptions had been used in river traffic. Log canoes, pirogues, large enough to carry twelve or fifteen barrels of goods, Kentucky boats, keel-boats, eighty feet in length with a capacity of one hundred barrels, New Orleans boats, capable of transporting from four hundred to five hundred barrels at a time, barges, with a capacity of 60,000 pounds, and finally great rafts upon which whole families together with their household goods, farm-

[62] Evanston Historical Society *Proceedings* (1902), 3.

[63] *North American Review*, 51, 113.

[64] Albach, *Annals of the West*, 853.

[65] *History of St. Clair County* (Ill.), 21, in *Illinois Local Histories*, 12, Wis. Hist. Society Library.

ing implements and domestic animals floated singly or in groups down the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers.[66] Occasionally the boats were "poled" back up the river but the rafts were broken up and either used for building the homes of the immigrants or were sold.

The keel-boats were built with the view of protection from the Indians as well as for carrying large loads. Loopholes lined the heavy wooden upper work of the boats. Partitions formed four rooms,—a cabin for the steward, a dining room, a ladies' cabin and one for men. In later days stoves were furnished and rude berths were constructed along the walls.[67] Generally such boats were manned by three hands, one to act as pilot and two for rowing. Occasionally some mover, with an idea of lessening labor and increasing speed fitted up a pair of side wheels for his boat. These were kept in motion by horses walking in a treadmill. Mention is made of such a boat, seventy-five tons burden, making the trip all the way from the Muskingum in Ohio to Winnebago county, Illinois, in 1839. It carried a typical immigrant load, eighteen persons, besides horses, cattle, swine, geese, ducks, chickens and farming utensils of all sorts from wagons to hoe handles. Beds, bedding, household furniture, wearing apparel and a full year's stock of provisions were also in the cargo.[68]

Down all the streams which fed the Ohio and especially those leading from the lumber district of Pennsylvania and New York floated immense rafts of lumber. Often two or three were lashed together to make the trip which as a rule occupied from three to four weeks. The immigrants in order to make themselves as comfortable as possible on the voyage erected rude shanties which served for parlor, kitchen, bedroom and storehouse. Outside on the walls of the cabin could be seen all kinds of sporting apparatus, dried meats, and every variety of men's and women's wearing apparel. Occasionally a string of drying clothes stretched along the raft suggested the dooryard of a cabin rather than a floating village. Domestic animals and

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[66] See Schultz, *Travels*, 1, 129–133, for early river navigation; also Hulburt, *Historic Highways*, 9.

[67] *The Americans as They Are*, 53.

[68] *Miners' Free Press*, May 14, 1839.

poultry mixed with ploughs, wagons and other agricultural implements took up the remaining room. So equipped, the movers floated down the river and if by good fortune they avoided the numerous snags and sandbars, in due time they reached the mouth of the Ohio where more strenuous labor commenced, for the raft must be "poled" to St. Louis, the distributing point of the Upper Mississippi. These rafts were broken up here and often brought the owner between five and fifteen thousand dollars according to the size.[69]

"When in 1811 *The Orleans* went steaming down the Ohio from Pittsburg and when six years later the *Washington* convinced a despairing public that steamboat navigation would succeed on western waters, the new era in western history dawned."[70] In 1830 two hundred and thirty steamboats were navigating the Mississippi;[71] by 1840 the number had increased to four hundred and fifty.[72] In 1850 this river commerce was valued at $550,000,000.[73] Lines of boats operated on the Wabash and on the Illinois terminating at St. Louis, also between Galena and St. Louis.

The first steamboats were not well fitted for river navigation. The builders had copied the models adapted to deep water navigation and as a result nearly all the boats drew too much water, becoming useless during the later summer months when the rivers were at a low stage. Owing to the patent held by Fulton on side-wheel steamers the stern wheel was adopted. Since the boats were very light in construction, many accidents occurred from 'snags.' Explosions, too, were frequent owing to defective boilers and carelessness upon the part of the operators. Two or three miles an hour[74] was the average rate of speed against the current and in 1820 six or eight miles was considered exceptional.[75]

Many were the difficulties encountered by the pioneer steamboats and many were the inconveniences experienced by the trav-

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[69] Jones, *Illinois and the West*, 35; Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio*, 85.
[70] Hulburt, *Historic Highways*, 9, 101.
[71] *Niles' Register*, 64, 124.
[72] *Memorial of the People of Cincinnati* (1844), 13.
[73] De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, 2, 400.
[74] Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio*, 74.
[75] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide through the Mississippi Valley*, 341.

elers. A voyage up the Mississippi is vividly described, but probably in an overdrawn manner, by one who made the trip in 1832. "This hour," he says, "you get upon a sand-bank, the next you are nearly snagged—driftwood in the river breaks your paddle—the pilot is found to be a toper—the engineer an ignoramus—the steward an economist—the captain a gambler—the black fireman insurgent and the deck passenger riotous. This moment you have too little steam and hardly advance against the current; another, too much and the boat trembles with the tremendous force exerted by the power that impels her. To complete your dismay the captain agrees to take a disabled steamboat, or a couple of heavily laden barges in tow for the next four or five hundred miles."[76]

The amount of travel on the large boats was great indeed. A boat of five hundred tons often carried one hundred cabin passengers and five hundred deck passengers besides four hundred tons of freight, making it a world in miniature. "In the cabin you will find ladies and gentlemen of various claims to merit; on the forward part of the boat the sailors, deck-hands and those sons of Vulcan—the firemen—possessing striking traits of character and full of noise and song and too often of whiskey; whilst above in the deck cabin there is everything which may be called human—all sorts of men and women, of all trades, from all parts of the world, of all possible manners and habits. There is the half-horse and half-alligator Kentucky boatman, swaggering and boasting of his prowess, his rifle, his horse and his wife. One is sawing away on his wretched old fiddle all day long; another is grinding a knife or razor; here is a party playing cards; and in yonder corner is a dance to the sound of the Jew's harp; whilst a few are trying to demean themselves soberly by sitting in silence or reading a book. But it is almost impossible—the wondrous tale and the horrible Indian story are telling; the bottle and the jug are freely circulating; and the boisterous and deafening laugh is incessantly raised, sufficient to banish every vestige of seriousness and thought and sense. A friend of mine some time ago went down from Cincinnati to New Orleans on board the steamboat

[76] Latrobe, *Rambles in North America*, 1, 224.

* * * which carried fifty cabin passengers; one or two hundred deck passengers; one negro driver with his gang of negroes; a part of a company of soldiers; a menagerie of wild beasts; a whole circus, and a company of play actors.''[77] German and Irish immigrants composed the greater number of the deck passengers. Exposed to the inclemencies of the weather many of these people were taken ill and on almost every voyage, up the river especially from the ports of the extreme south it was a common occurrence for some of these immigrants to fall victims to exposure. An exceptional case is noted in *Niles' Register* where on one trip eighteen passengers died from illness contracted through inadequate accommodations.[78]

The cabin passengers enjoyed more comforts it seems, but accounts given by travelers are far from agreeing on this point. One account says, ''the American steamboats are in the point of elegance superior to those of other nations, and none but the English are able to compete with them. The furniture, carpets, beds, etc., are thought elegant and in good condition. . . . The fare is excellent and the breakfasts, dinners and suppers are provided with such a multiplicity of dishes and even dainties as would satisfy the most refined appetite. The beverage consists of rum, gin, brandy and claret to be taken at pleasure during meals; but out of that time they are to be paid for.''[79] Still another writer tells of Brussels carpets, chandeliers, armchairs, rocking chairs, mirrors and libraries and sometimes pianos on the Mississippi river boats.[80] Such descriptions, however, seem to be a little too brightly colored if we consider the impressions of western travelers during the thirties. ''Happy he whose foresight has secured to him all the enjoyment of the luxury of his own clean towels as none but the disagreeable alternative of drying his person by the heat of the stove can be the fate of him who has not done this. As to making use of the common articles hung up for the accommodation of some thirty citizens in rotation no one can be termed . . . delicate for avoiding that,''[81] says one.

[77] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide through the Mississippi Valley*, 342.
[78] *Niles' Register*, 46, 361.
[79] *The Americans as They Are*, 106.
[80] *New York Weekly Tribune*, June 17, 1843.
[81] Latrobe, *Rambles in North America*, 1, 221.

An Illinois river steamboat of 1838 was described in a no less slighting manner. "There was but one bedroom candlestick on board and this was made with one candle to serve the four ladies' state-rooms in turn, one being obliged to go to bed, . . . the candle being then passed on to another. . . . Of towels also there was but one, which had to go the round from cabin to cabin in the same way; and the whole equipment in furniture, fare and attendance was upon the same starved, stinted and miserable footing."[82]

The rules governing the actions of passengers were printed, framed and hung in a conspicuous place. The gentlemen were forbidden to go to the table without coats or in any garb which would disturb the company, neither should they enter the ladies' state-room without the consent of the ladies. Gentlemen were not to lie upon the beds with their boots or shoes on; they were not to smoke cigars in the state-room; neither were they to play cards after ten o'clock, nor at any time engage in conversation with the pilot. Marking on the furniture with a pencil or anything else which would disfigure it was also mentioned among the things not to be indulged in. Any transgression of the above named rules was punishable by a fine for the first offense; for the second, the transgressor was sent ashore.[83]

In one point discipline seems to have been lax. Gambling on board the boats was prevalent to a marked degree. Not only did the ordinary passengers indulge, but there were gangs of professional gamblers who infested the principal towns from Pittsburg to New Orleans and constantly traveled up and down the river fleecing all whom they were able to entice into games.[84] Murder, too, seems to have been no uncommon occurence if we are to believe the current statements.[85]

In 1831 a passage from Beaver, Pennsylvania to Cincinnati, by steamboat was twelve dollars; to Louisville, sixteen dollars; to Shawneetown, twenty-two dollars and to St. Louis, thirty-one dollars. From Philadelphia to St. Louis by stage and steam-

[82] Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States of America*, 3. 207.
[83] *The Americans as They Are*, 106; Steele, *A Summer Journey in the West*, 155.
[84] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide Through the Mississippi Valley*, 343.
[85] *Niles' Register*, 54, 388.

boat the cost, including meals, was about fifty-five dollars; from New Orleans to St. Louis, thirty dollars; from St. Louis to Beardstown on the Illinois river, six dollars; to Quincy, six dollars and to Galena, twelve dollars. Deck passage was much cheaper. From Beaver to Louisville cost four dollars; from Louisville to St. Louis, three dollars; from New Orleans to St. Louis, eight dollars and from St. Louis to Quincy and Galena two dollars and three dollars respectively.[86]

Prices were gradually lowered. By 1834 a traveler could procure cabin passage from New Orleans to Pittsburg for between thirty-five and forty-five dollars and deck passage for between ten and twelve dollars.[87] In 1837 the Western Transportation Line operating between Philadelphia and St. Louis by way of Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Louisville charged the following rates: To Pittsburg cost six dollars and the time for the trip was six and one-half days; to Cincinnati, eight and one-half dollars, time eight and one-half days; to Louisville, nine dollars, time nine and one-half days and to St. Louis, a distance of seventeen hundred and fifty miles, the cost was thirteen dollars and the time of travel, fourteen days. Packets which reduced the time cost more. The company charged seventeen dollars to Cincinnati, nineteen dollars to Louisville and twenty-seven dollars to St. Louis.[88]

After 1840 from New York to Cincinnati cost only twelve dollars; to Louisville, thirteen dollars; to St. Louis, fourteen dollars and to Galena, sixteen dollars.[89] Meals were not included. Their average cost was thirty-seven and one-half cents each.[90] Stage travel cost six cents per mile.[91] Deviations from these prices were often made when a party consisting of a large family or number of families desired passage to one place.[92]

The rates for the transportation of goods were in accordance with prices of travel. Sixty-two and one-half cents per hun-

[86] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 52.
[87] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide through the Mississippi Valley*, 341.
[88] *Illinois in 1837*, 67.
[89] Kapp, *European Emigration to the United States*, 70.
[90] Mitchell, *Sketchbook of Illinois*, 27.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Niles' Register*, 48, 242.

dred weight was the customary charge from New Orleans to St. Louis: to Cincinnati it was about seventy cents and to Pittsburg between seventy-five cents and one dollar. Down stream charges were less: thirty cents per hundred weight for dry goods was the cost from Pittsburg to Cincinnati; three and one-half dollars per ton for iron goods for the same destination.[93] To other points proportionate charges were made.

The Ohio river route was one of the great highways to the West during the period 1830 to 1850. Some idea of the volume of travel down this river may be had by an examination of the newspapers published in the towns along the river. The *Cincinnati Mirror* of September 6, 1834 says: "We are so completely overrun by emigrants or movers with carriages, wagons, cattle, horses, dogs and sheep that we are compelled to speak. Our streets are a moving mass of living men, women, children and everything joyously wending their way to their new habitations." During the next decade the tide had in nowise diminished. "The number of emigrants who have left this city," says the *Cincinnati Gazette*, "for the northern part of Illinois and Iowa Territory by the way of St. Louis, as we are informed by the officers of the boats, has been unusually large this season. Boats leave our landing almost daily, crowded with substantial emigrants from the back country with their live stock and farming apparatus bent upon seeking their fortunes in the West."[94]

In the thirties the guide books published for the use of immigrants to the West frequently advised those intending to move to do so in wagons. The expense was less than by other methods. Live stock could be moved with less difficulty and if occasion required the lighter goods only would be taken in wagons and the heavier and bulkier farming implements sent over the Lakes or down the Ohio. Sometimes furniture was sent from New England all the way to Illinois by water, going down the coast, around by New Orleans and up the Mississippi.[95] In these cases someone generally made the trip that way to look after the goods.

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[93] *Emigrants' and Travelers' Guide Through the Mississippi Valley*, 357.

[94] *Cincinnati Gazette*, April 21, 1842.

[95] *Stories of the Pioneer Mothers of Illinois.* (Mrs. Julia Wolcott Carter's story. *MSS.* in Illinois Historical Library.)

Prior to 1830 the ox-cart was much used for transportation by those taking land routes to the West. These carts were not built for rapid transit but rather for capacity. A yoke of oxen hauling an enormous load generally lounged onward at the rate of one and one-half miles an hour. After 1830 wagons began to be seen in greater numbers and in the autumn months when the weather was mild, the roads dry and hard and the rivers fordable, after the crops of the year had been gathered and sold, and when the cattle were fat and in good traveling condition, wagon after wagon, caravan after caravan could be seen rattling along the roads to the West.

All along the highways of travel the newspapers made occasional note of parties of more than ordinary size. From these articles we are best able to gain an idea of the volume of westward travel by means of land conveyances. "On the 27th ult., quite a caravan of the hardy sons of Pennsylvania passed through this city on their way to Stephenson county, Illinois. There were fourteen wagons and sixty-one persons."[96] Again, "on Thursday the 15th inst., about one hundred and fifty persons passed through this place southward, emigrating to Illinois or perhaps to Missouri. They had their plunder in twenty-two or twenty-three wagons."[97] One man traveling through Indiana towards Vincennes counted four hundred emigrants' wagons within a distance of fifty-five miles.[98] The *Wheeling Times* in 1839 speaks of the unprecedented amount of travel by wagons passing through the town.[99] Numerous other newspaper extracts to the same effect can be found. It seems probable that those people living at any great distance from the great waterways used wagons in traveling westward. This is especially true among the farmers. There is, however, no way of determining what percentage used this method of travel in preference to the water routes.

The vehicles were of every kind; sometimes no vehicle was used, for many a man traveled the whole way from the East on

[96] *Madison Express*, July 27, 1843. (Extract from the *Michigan City Gazette*.)
[97] *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, June 18, 1834.
[98] *Niles' Register*, 47, 163.
[99] *Madison Enquirer*, June 8, 1839.

foot. "Sometimes the light wagons containing the possessions of the movers were drawn by the people themselves, the head of the family between the shafts of the wagon, harnessed with a collar and traces, while the rest of the family according to their strength pulled with ropes attached to various parts of the vehicle.[100]

The pioneers from Pennsylvania, Ohio and the southern states betrayed their nativity and prejudice in the schooner-shaped wagon box, the stiff tongue, the hind wheels double the size of the forward ones and closely coupled together, the whole drawn by a team of four or six horses guided by a single line in the hands of the teamster riding the nigh wheeler. The harness was of gigantic proportions; the massive leather breeching, the heavy harness and collar, the immense housing of bearskin upon the harness, the heavy iron trace chains, and the ponderous double-tree and whiffle-trees all made a striking picture.

The New Yorker and immigrant from farther east, was marked as far as his caravan could be seen by a long coupled, low boxed, two horse wagon provided with a seat, from which with double lines the driver guided his lightly harnessed pair of horses.[101] Occasionally the old 'steamboat' wagons were seen, bearing some resemblance to the crooked, heavy wagons used by the people from the southern states.

The contents of the immigrant wagons were astonishing indeed in amount as well as variety of articles. A glance under the canvas covering disclosed a startling array of baggage—if "women, guns, rifles, boys, girls, babies and other nick-nacks"[102] may be called baggage. Below on the axles of the wagons dangled pots and kettles of all forms and sizes. Sometimes dogs and even cats were included among the movables of the immigrating families. To the Yankee mover, a plough, a bed, a barrel of salt meat, a supply of tea and molasses, a Bible and a wife were the indispensable articles.[103]

In front of these westward moving caravans rode the older

[100] *Niles' Register*, **22**, 320.
[101] *History of Grundy County (Ill.)*, 149.
[102] *Niles' Register*, **52**, 240.
[103] Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States*, 112.

sons and sometimes the daughters. Their duties were chiefly to attend to the driving of such domestic animals as had been brought along. Sometimes a considerable amount of live stock was driven along by the movers—one family came with five hundred sheep, another man drove one hundred and fifty hogs but as a general rule a few horses and cows, several sheep and hogs made up the wealth of the pioneer.

Mr. Howells in his book on pioneer life in Ohio gives an amusing description of the difficulties experienced in driving the domestic animals—"to start off with a mixed drove of animals was no trifling affair, for, though they would drive pretty well after getting used to the road and a day or two's experience, their obstinacy and contrarity at first was without parallel, and a boy to each animal was little enough. First a pig would dart back and run like a deer till he was headed and turned, by which time the others would meet him and all have to be driven up; while in the meantime a cow or two would be sailing down a by-lane with elevated head and tail, and a breathless boy circling through a field or the woods to intercept her career; and then the sheep would start over a broken piece of fence, the last following the first and leaping higher over every obstacle till they were brought back to the road."[104] It was not an uncommon occurrence, too, for the horses to be seized with sudden homesickness during the night and depart for more familiar scenes.

Excessively warm weather and numerous flies sometimes so worried immigrants that they resorted to night traveling,[105] being unable to make progress during the day. When the movers traveled in the day time their nights were passed in camp. If a number of families were traveling together, when night came the wagons were grouped in a neighborly fashion in a convenient spot where water and wood were close at hand. The fire was lighted and the camp utensils brought into use in the preparation of supper while the men unharnessed the dusty horses and turned them loose on the rich unfenced prairie pastures. The scores of happy children liberated

[104] Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio*, 87.

[105] *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 328.

from the tiresome day's journey romped through the grass enjoying to their greatest capacity an unlimited play ground. Beds were made up in the wagons and sometimes on the ground when the weather permitted. In the morning the bustle of preparation began, the stock was rounded up and started along the road, horses harnessed and soon the work of another day had begun.

The progress of such caravans was not rapid, being about fifteen miles a day.[106] From the eastern states seven[107] to nine[108] weeks were consumed in making the trip to Illinois. Sometimes heavy roads made the journey even more difficult. The colony which settled at Geneseo, Illinois in 1836, came along a road through Michigan which was so nearly impassable that but seven miles were covered in six days.[109]

It is scarcely possible to make any estimate of value concerning the cost of the overland travel. The equipments of the pioneers, the amount of stock and the cost of tavern meals varied greatly. Occasionally a scrap of information is found which will serve as an illustration. A family of eleven persons with two wagons, several cows and five hundred sheep came a distance of two hundred and fifty miles to Illinois, in twenty-one days at a cost of ten dollars spent for food.[110]

In the extreme western states taverns for the accommodation of travelers were not numerous. Good houses of entertainment were not to be found at all and such taverns as there were did not receive much patronage from the immigrants who generally brought all their supplies with them. Tavern prices were regulated by the county commissioners court. Meals cost from twenty-five to thirty-seven and one-half cents; lodging, twelve and one-half cents a night. Horses were cared for at a rate of fifty to seventy-five cents a day.[111] The people who frequented these taverns were of all classes and stations but the

[106] *History of Grundy County (Ill.)*, 314.

[107] Beckwith, *History of Vermilion County* (Ill.), 381.

[108] *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Geneseo* (Ill.), 5

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] Duis, *Good old Times in McLean County*, 217.

[111] Bent, *History of Whiteside County* (Ill.), 57; Perrin, *History of Effingham County* (Ill.), 40.

predominance of hunters and small farmers gave marked frontier characteristics to them.

Since the early settlers of the state came from all directions in all sorts of conveyances, at all times of the year, with varying amounts of property and at costs varying as greatly as the conveyances used and the roads traveled, it is extremely difficult to draw any conclusions save very general ones. One, however, may be reached. The settlers who located in southern and western Illinois generally came by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; those who settled in the northern part of the state, by way of the Great Lakes; while the majority of the pioneers of eastern Illinois came by wagons over no beaten road. The migration to this part of the state is illustrative of the simple agricultural immigration which goes on steadily and so quietly as to attract little direct attention and consequently is to be characterized with difficulty.

CHAPTER V

THE ILLINOIS AND THE FOX RIVER VALLEYS

Owing to the conditions which influenced the time as well as the character and rapidity of settlement of this part of the state, the Illinois river valley is divided into three parts: the counties along the middle Illinois, those along the upper Illinois and those in the Fox river valley.[1] The counties of the middle Illinois river valley were settled to quite an extent under the influence of the Sangamon country and much earlier than the northern counties, both Tazewell and Putnam counties having organized local governments before 1830. In the upper Illinois river counties the influence of the Illinois-Michigan canal is noticeable both in the character and location of settlement. Likewise the influence of lake transportation was of much importance in the settlement of the Fox river valley.

Although the Sangamon country was quite thickly settled by 1830, Mason county, joining it on the north, had but few settlers and not until 1841 was it organized as a county. During the period 1821-1825 the county was surveyed and the land opened for settlement; but owing to the fact that it was regarded for years as a sandy, barren waste fit only for the abode of hunters and others who did not depend on agriculture for a living, few pioneers came to settle here, preferring instead to go further towards the frontier.[2]

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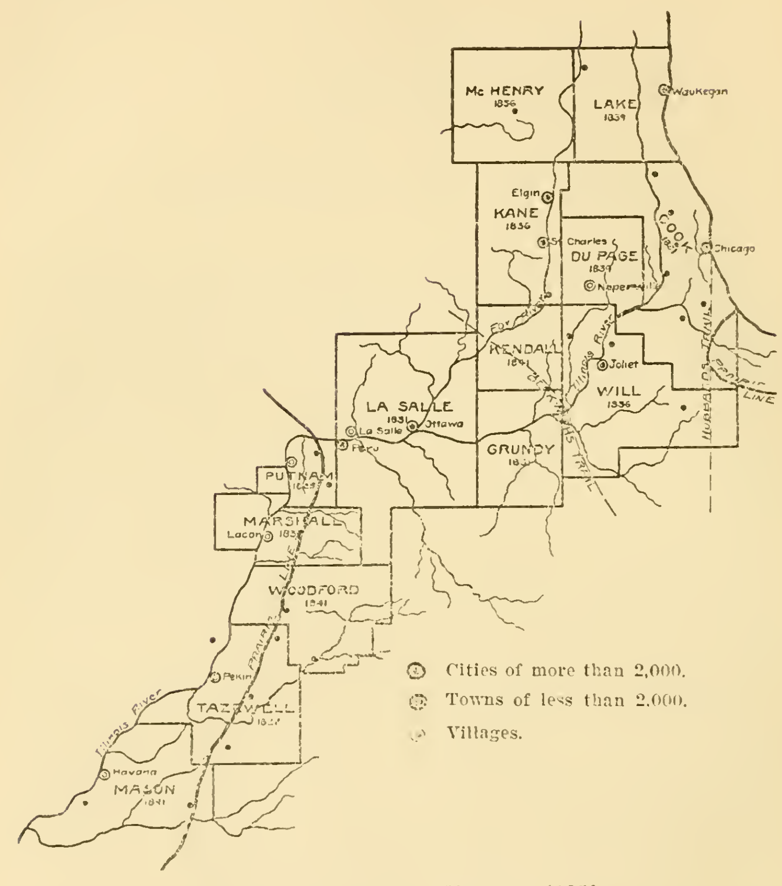
[1] The middle Illinois counties are those on the eastern side of the river north of the Sangamon river; Mason, Tazewell, Woodford, Marshall and Putnam. Those on the western side are included in the Military Tract. La Salle, Grundy and Will counties are grouped under the head of upper Illinois river counties, while in the Fox river valley are the counties of Kendall, Du Page, Kane, McHenry and Lake.

[2] *History of Menard and Mason counties*, 408.



ILLINOIS AND FOX RIVER VALLEYS (1850)

Section west of the prairie line is more than 20 per cent. woodland. Year indicates date of county organization.

Havana, dating from 1832, seems to have been the most important settlement of early days. Its growth must have been very slow, since six years elapsed before the building of the first house.[3] After 1834 groups of Canadians[4] and Germans[5] settled here, who, by 1850 formed a large part of the settlement which was still the most important one in the county. In other parts settlements grew no faster until after 1840.[6]

The character of the settlements shows the influence of location. An examination of nativities brings out the fact that the greater number of the early settlers came from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, although New England and the Middle Atlantic States had numerous representatives. There were also settlers who came from Indiana and from the older counties of Illinois. Of the foreigners present, Germans were in the majority. The timbered parts of the county were taken up first by the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans and when, during the period of speculation just previous to the financial panic of 1837, the New Englanders and the settlers from the Middle States came, they were compelled to take up the unoccupied territory which generally meant the small prairies. More rapid growth took place during the forties and in 1850 there were 5,900 settlers in the county.[7]

Tazewell county which was organized in 1827,[8] had 4,700 settlers by 1830,[9] most of them being pioneers of the type most frequently found in the hardwood districts of the middle West. While immigrants came in steadily during these years, it was after 1830 that the most rapid increase came.

In 1836 Tremont in the central part of the county was established by a New England colony. Jones in his *Illinois and the West* (1838) gives a decidedly favorable description of the town, saying that it was beautifully laid off with wide streets and a public square around which were arranged the business

[3] *Ibid.*, 520.

[4] *Ibid.*, 411.

[5] *Ibid.*, 509.

[6] Bath, Mason City, Allen's Grove, Crane Creek and other places each claimed a few settlers.

[7] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

[8] *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, 355.

[9] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

houses. The frame houses which composed most of the dwellings of the town were painted white, giving the village a very neat appearance. Three-fourths of the population were New Englanders, which probably accounts for the orderly appearance of the village.[10]

A colony of importance was established in 1837 at Delavan in the southern part of the county, being the result of the efforts of a company of enterprising Rhode Island farmers. Like other companies of the time it was a stock company with a capital of $44,000. An agent sent to Illinois purchased 23,000 acres of land for the company and, to the great surprise of all, located the tract upon the open prairie, at that time an unheard of proceeding. Not a bush or a tree was in sight but nevertheless the proprietors seemed well satisfied with the choice and families immediately began to come in.

For a time they were lodged in the common home which was the first building erected in the town of Delavan. The erection of such houses seems to have been a rule among the companies sending colonies to the West and probably the idea was to guard against discouragement of the new settlers and alleviate the hardships attendant upon the opening up of a new country. When the settlers were desirous of making homes for themselves at the earliest possible date such an arrangement certainly must have been advantageous, but should any be inclined to live at the company's expense this convenience must have been abused. No time limit appears to have been placed upon the stay in the common home but probably such a safe-guard was provided.

One point of the contract signed by the members of the company deserves mention as something out of the ordinary. No ardent spirits were ever to be brought into the town and sold or used as drink.[11] This clause also appears in the laws of the Rockwell colony in La Salle county.[12]

Still another colony was founded in Tazewell at this time, at Mackinaw on the south side of the Mackinaw stream. As

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[10] Jones. *Illinois and the West*, 72.

[11] *The New Yorker*, Aug. 31, 1839.

[12] *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1836.

in the case of the Delavan colony, a common house was first erected and in 1838 was occupied by several families who were waiting for the completion of their homes.[13]

Washington, in the northern part of the county and Pekin on the Illinois river were the other important villages in 1840, the latter being a typical western town, with flouring mills, saw mills and pork packing industry. To some extent it was the point of contact between the back country and the outer world, gaining by advantage of location such commerce as the demands of the settlers increased. Other settlements brought up the number of inhabitants to 7,200 in 1840.[14]

During the early years of the succeeding decade the increase in population was slow, owing to financial depression, but after 1845 the number of settlers coming to the county gradually increased. The number of southern immigrants decreased and that of northerners increased but the growth of population was not rapid, probably on account of the opening to settlement of the northern and eastern counties of the state. The gain in population had been about 4,000 since 1840 and the county now had a population of over 12,000,[15] with three towns, Pekin, Tremont and Washington of some importance.

Judging from the small number of towns and from the fact that but one, Pekin, had over a thousand inhabitants it seems safe to conclude that the population was an agricultural one. Small streams with timbered banks traversed the county, offering an ideal country for the agricultural pioneers who, by 1850, had placed under cultivation almost 73,000 acres of the land. There still remained uncultivated some 92,000 acres, nearly all of which was back from the rivers, away from the timber.[16]

Settlers began to come to Woodford county in 1819 and by 1830 some forty-five arrivals, chiefly from Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana had been received. In 1832, owing to the Indian troubles, Woodford did not increase rapidly, since the county was on the extreme frontier and not well protected

[13] *Western Pioneer*, May 18, 1838.
[14] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.
[15] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.
[16] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.

against Indian raids. Up to 1850 Metamora was the most important settlement. In 1835 a company of settlers from Hanover, New Hampshire, had settled here giving the name Hanover to their village. They were as welcome to the Kentuckians then living in the county "as a band of Hottentots." In 1843 the village became the county seat and the name was changed to Metamora. In this year the first store was built.[17]

The settlements in the county during the period from 1831 to 1850 were numerous but small, composed of little groups of settlers who built their cabins on the edge of the timber and enclosed enough prairie land for cultivation. The eastern part or the prairie district of the county was not settled for several years after 1850 and then only by the aid of the railroads,[18] and it is safe to say that of the 36,000 acres of land under cultivation in 1850[19] the greater portion was in the western part of the county near the river.

In character of its settlers, Woodford county was typical of the counties of the Middle Illinois Valley. Almost before the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans were comfortably settled upon their little farms on the borders of the timber lands Virginians, Carolinians, New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians and others were crowding in also. Men of all classes, nationalities and stations met here. There were men who had been with Napoleon at Austerlitz; who had followed him on his ill-fated Russian expedition; exiled Poles; Bavarians; men who had sat in the legislatures of conservative New England; abolitionists from the same section and slaves from the south. Half the states of the Union were represented here and many foreign countries.[20]

Since 1829 settlers had occupied Marshall county. Lacon, on the Illinois river served as the shipping point for the farmers and bade fair to become one of the most important of the towns along the Illinois river. The site was purchased by a company of Ohio men in 1831 and the town of Columbia laid out. During the next few years quite a number of settlers came from

[17] *History of Woodford County*, 238 ff.

[18] *History of Woodford County*, 400.

[19] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.

[20] *History of Woodford County*, 227-235.

Ohio, and the village grew until 1837.[21] In the western part of the county, Henry was the most important settlement. Its growth is illustrative of that of many of the settlements of Illinois during this period. Founded in the early forties when the state was in its financial difficulties, growth was slow until after 1845 when better times came; by 1853 the population numbered over one thousand.[22]

Among the settlements proposed in the period before the panic, few grew into realities. Lyons, Dorchester, Auburn, Centerville, Troy City and Chambersburg were all laid out during the period of speculation, but these ventures like many others of the time failed to fulfill expectations, and farms took the places of the proposed cities. For a time the town of Webster was a thriving settlement but it was later abandoned owing to the unhealthfulness of the location.

Although Kentuckians and Tennesseans were first in the groves of Marshall county,[23] Ohio and New York had a number of representatives, while the name Yankee Street denoted the presence of New Englanders. In 1850 nearly 5,200 settlers[24] were in the county and since but 36,000 acres of land were cultivated[25] it seems reasonable to assume that little of the prairie was taken up excepting along its edges.

Putnam county which was organized in 1825 had in 1830 about 700 inhabitants.[26] In 1850 there were but 3,900.[27] Hennepin, the county seat and only settlement receiving recognition in the Federal census of 1850, dates from 1829. In 1831 the town lots of Hennepin were advertised in the Springfield, Galena and Terre Haute papers but growth was slow, for eleven families composed the population in 1833,[28] and in 1850 there were but four hundred and thirty settlers here.[29] Granville, Florid and Mt. Palatine were the chief villages but important

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[21] Ford, *History of Putnam and Marshall Counties*, 106.
[22] *Ibid.*, 113.
[23] *Ibid.*, 142.
[24] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.
[25] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.
[26] Ford, *History of Putnam and Marshall Counties*, 29.
[27] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.
[28] Ford, *History of Putnam and Marshall Counties*, 87.
[29] *Seventh Census* (1850), 714.

only in showing the tendency of the early settlers to locate near lines of communication. In the last case the tendency is especially noticeable for the village attained what little importance it enjoyed from its location on the Peoria-Ottawa state road. Northern pioneers were the most numerous in this county and of the New Englanders present Massachusetts furnished the greatest number.[30]

In closing the discussion of this part of the state it may be said that these counties along with those across the river, show themselves to be border counties, the meeting place of the hunter-pioneer and the farmer types of settlers. Following the results of experience gathered by generations of pioneers, the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans clung to the timber land and consequently advanced a considerable distance up the Illinois river toward the northern part of the state. Close on their heels through the lower counties, were the New Englanders and New Yorkers, and in the upper counties of the region, when the settlements were not well established and were comparatively wide-spread, we see the northern element taking the lead in numbers. An examination of county histories will show that in Mason and Tazewell counties, the great majority of pioneers were southern men, in Woodford the percentage was not so great, in Marshall, still less, and in Putnam, the northern county, the southern pioneer was an exception.

The reason seems evident since the locality was quite distant from the influence of those southern communities below the Sangamon river. Moreover, as the Kentuckian moved farther and farther northward the Yankees became more and more numerous much to his disapproval. Settlers from New England and New York had begun to swarm in during the thirties and taking up the unoccupied timber land, the frontier-loving southerner could no longer find country wild enough and far enough removed from the limits of civilization to make an ideal frontier.

Here was the beginning of the conflict between the hunter-pioneer of the South and the agricultural pioneer of the North. The hunter needed the woodlands for a field from which to

[30] *Illinois in 1837*, 100.

gain his livelihood; he needed the game which lived within its limits and he needed little land for agriculture. His progress northward so far had been carried on with comparative speed owing to the fact that he met little opposition from any other type of frontiersman. In the southern counties, being first upon the scene, he took up the timber land at his leisure, cleared his plot of ground and lived a life which satisfied him. The New Englander and the man from the Middle States, arriving somewhat later, took what was left and occasionally it was the prairie land, as seen in the instance of the Tremont settlement in Tazewell county. So far the hunter was firmly established in his native region, the woodland, and was slowly undergoing the transition from hunter to farmer.

The stream of settlers coming to the northern counties was different in character. There was no desire among these pioneers to use the timber lands for hunting purposes but rather for an aid in conquering the prairies. Faster and faster these farmers poured into Illinois by the lake route. They filled up the timber quickly and soon began to experiment with the prairies. Weight of numbers and unity of purpose combined to check the advance of the southern man, who, upon finding the groves claimed, was compelled to look elsewhere for his kind of country.

The population of the counties in this district amounted to 31,500 in 1850, the greater part having come in the decade 1841–1850 after the end of the financial depression.[31] Havana, Pekin, Lacon and Hennepin were the chief towns, each one situated on the Illinois river and deriving its importance from its location on the common line of communication with the older settlements of the south. Of the 500,000 acres of land in this district 220,000 were under cultivation.[32]

Few settlers had come to the counties of the upper Illinois valley before the Black Hawk War, La Salle county, which was organized in 1831 being the only one with many settlers. Beginnings of settlement were made at Ottawa in 1823 but the Indian outbreak of 1832 put a stop to its growth. The Yankee

[31] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.
[32] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.

settlement at Hickory Grove was the largest one in Will county and this with Ottawa, was the only one in this part of Illinois, strong enough to exist through the Indian War.

Some experiments in establishing colonies were tried here but met with little success. The Rockwell colony, based upon the principle of exclusion of intoxicating liquors, was an interesting but unsuccessful New England experiment.[33] In 1830 a colony of young men from Northampton, Massachusetts, desiring to obtain a suitable site for a settlement, sent commissioners to the state to make a selection of lands. Influenced by the fertility of the soil, by the reported existence of immense coal beds and by the proposed canal and railroad communications, the committee fixed upon La Salle as the most advantageous location. Several settlers came during the year, a cabin was erected upon the site of La Salle town, but owing to the inclement weather the greater number of the new settlers moved away.[34]

The Black Hawk War effectually put a stop to settlement in these counties for the space of a year, driving the greater part of the settlers back upon the stronger settlements in the south and practically checking the spread of the hunter-pioneer class long enough to allow the swarms of New Englanders and New Yorkers to gain possession of the northern part of the state and successfully exclude the southern men.

From the end of this war until the financial crash of 1837 there was a decidedly rapid growth of population along the Illinois river. The Illinois and Michigan canal from Chicago to the Illinois river, was to connect with the latter somewhere in La Salle county. Settlers flocked in hoping to obtain lands on or near the proposed line. When the land sales were made in 1835, however, the speculators present took the lion's share, leaving but a small portion for the actual settlers. During the following year came the greatest immigration of the period. Ground was broken for the canal, July 4, 1836, and the begin-

[33] *The New Yorker*, Aug. 20, 1836.

[34] *Past and Present of LaSalle County*, 187; *History of LaSalle County*, 296.

ning of active operations no doubt tended to increase greatly the crowd of new comers.[35]

Ottawa was still the chief town of La Salle county, having a population of seven or eight hundred, most of whom were "Yankees—a shrewd, selfish, enterprising, cow-milking set of men."[36] A few stores, frame houses and Kentucky log cabins composed the settlement.[37] Peru, a few miles farther down the river, had sprung into existence shortly after the Black Hawk War. The growth which took place soon after it was laid out in 1834 was due to the fact that work on the canal and railroads began soon after.[38]

The arrival, at this time, of the first band of Scandinavians was an event of some importance in the settlement of this part of Illinois. From New York they followed the easiest and most natural route to the state along the line of the Great Lakes. The arrival of these foreigners gave a forecast of the influence which the northern line of transportation was to have upon the character of the settlements in these counties, for soon there was to be a great throng of foreigners poured through the Chicago gateway upon the prairies.

In Grundy county, a fringe of settlers established themselves along the canal, but the spread of settlement was seriously interfered with by the operations of land speculators who proceeded to buy up the lands back from the squatters' claims bordering the canal. Advanced prices forced the later settlers to look elsewhere for homes and as a consequence the development of the county was not rapid. Its chief settlement, Kankakee City, was the outgrowth of the speculation of the times and is a good example of the mushroom type of cities. In its best days the population numbered seventy-five; lots were sold in New York and Chicago for thousands of dollars, but the city fell with the crash of 1837, and today the site of the once promising Kankakee City is a farm.[39]

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[35] *Past and Present of LaSalle County*, 194.

[36] *The Chicago Weekly American*, Feb. 4, 1837.

[37] *The New Yorker*, June 10, 1837.

[38] *Past and Present of LaSalle County*, 306.

[39] *History of Grundy County*, 319.

For two or three years following the eventful 1832, few settlers came to Will county, but the land sale at Chicago in June, 1835, brought many immigrants. Farmers, speculators and city promoters, jostled each other in their attempts to acquire the more desirable portions. Those wishing land for homes were, owing to a lack of ready money, not so fortunate in obtaining large quantities of ground as was the class of speculators which took up section after section, and platted town after town, some of which were never to know an existence. Palmyra, Williamsburg, Middletown, Vienna, Carlyle, West Lockport, New Rochester, Buffalo and Lurenbergh were all laid out but were soon abandoned.[40]

All efforts at town-making were, however, not futile, and where towns were not attempted, the little clusters of farm houses clinging to the timber showed a steady advance in the numbers of settlers and by 1836 the population was great enough to warrant the formation of a new county.[41] New Englanders and New Yorkers, traveling westward over the lakes either to Chicago or Detroit and from there by land, found their way to Will county, founding Plainfield, Lockport, Joliet and other places. A group of Ohioans, more venturesome than their neighbors, or from necessity, at this time dared the prairie and took up their abode in the eastern part of the county at Monee.[42]

Lockport for a time seemed to offer the greatest possibilities for growth. Anticipating its importance, settlers congregated here, believing that its situation on the Illinois-Michigan canal assured its success as a city. Gradually it grew in importance and when the canal was opened in 1848 it became a shipping point for the farmers of the surrounding country who were eager to dispose of their surplus products in the most advantageous markets.[43] Joliet, which in 1835 was but a small village, increased in size during the succeeding years and was, in 1837, the largest town in the county.[44]

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[40] Woodruff, *Joliet and Will County Forty Years Ago*, 33.

[41] *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, 589.

[42] *History of Will County*, 567.

[43] *History of Will County*, 432.

[44] *Illinois in 1837*, 123, gives the population as six hundred but the estimate must be taken with caution, as the book is not entirely reliable.

The period 1832–1837 while one of beginnings was also one of rapid growth. Fear of the Indians had at last been removed, new lands had been opened up and work on the canal begun. Steam navigation on the lakes was rapidly attaining great dimensions, which, with the influences previously mentioned and the almost universal desire for speculation in lands and property, tended to make this period one of exceedingly great importance in the settlement of this part of the state. Besides the villages of Peru, Ottawa, Plainfield, Lockport and Joliet, numbers of smaller ones had been made and hundreds of solid New Englanders and New Yorkers had already established themselves in the most desirable portions of the counties.

The bursting of the bubble of speculation in 1837 put a stop to settlement for a time, however, and those parts of the state dependent upon the advance of work on the canal for their own increasing importance, felt a severe shock when, owing to financial embarrassment, work on the system of internal improvements was, for the time, abandoned. Farm products declined greatly in value but even in the face of this many of those employed on the canal turned their efforts to farming when operations on the canal ceased.

During the early years of the financial crisis the effect was not so noticeable as it was in later years. The Rockwell Land Company of Norwich, Connecticut, which had for several years been interested in La Salle county lands sent one hundred colonists to the county in 1837–38. The settlement gave promises for the future but sickness among the settlers soon caused its depopulation. At one time it contained some two hundred inhabitants.[45]

From the time La Salle was laid out in 1837 until work on the canal and railroad ceased in 1841 there was a period of activity and rapid growth, but decline began in 1840.[46] Immigration practically ceased and in 1843 La Salle had only about one hundred inhabitants.[47] Ottawa, the only town not showing the effects of the cessation of work on the canal, grew apace and

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[45] *Past and present of LaSalle County*, 296.
[46] *Ibid.*, 297.
[47] *Ibid.*, 301.

from 1837 to 1840 doubled its population, becoming the most important city in that portion of the state. One thousand inhabitants, exclusive of canal laborers, composed its population. New Yorkers and New Englanders were present in the greatest numbers with a smaller representation from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and other western states.

In Joliet especially it is said that the people suffered actual hardships during this period of financial trouble. The same is true of Lockport which, as has been said, seemed to give promise of becoming a prosperous town. Wheatland, settled by a number of Vermonters who made the journey overland from their native state, was the only new settlement of note established during the period.

By 1842 the financial aspect of the state began to brighten and immigration to increase. By 1846 repudiation was no longer thought of, confidence had increased to such a degree that immigrants to the West gladly settled in Illinois instead of turning to the north or going still farther to the west. From this point the future of the state was assured and when work was again resumed on the canal and the railroad, the surrounding country began a most rapid development.

The following period, 1843 to 1850, was one of gradual revival. Little by little the tide of immigration increased and with the increase came the necessity of conquering the problems of the prairie. Step by step the pioneers advanced into the open until the smaller spaces between the lines of timber were entirely taken up. By 1850 about eighty per cent. of the land of La Salle county was under cultivation; forty-five per cent. in Grundy county and a somewhat smaller portion in Will county owing to its more extensive prairies.[48]

Most important of the settlements along the upper Illinois was Peru which, owing to its advantageous position on the line of water communication with the Great Lakes by means of the Illinois river and the canal, and its communication assured with the northern and central portions of the state by railway, had

[48] *Seventh Census* (1850), 728.

become a town of 3,000 people who were at the close of our period taking steps to procure a city government.[49]

La Salle, in a way, illustrated the type of western towns of the time. Its two hundred inhabitants were, according to accounts, of none too good a class. One traveler says that upon inquiry at one or two of the stores he "ascertained that there were Christians in the place."[50] The two Ottawas which had a combined population of over 3,200 people[51] were described by the same author as making "a beautiful and flourishing village . . . laid out and built with considerable taste and beauty."[51] It probably derived its neatness from the New England population which was in the majority here. Streator and Mendota, today towns of considerable size, were as yet not thought of, needing the railroads to call them into existence.

Will county in 1850 had 16,700 inhabitants and Joliet, the county town, had a population of 2,659.[53] In its growth of business and development of industries, we see the influence of the shrewd New Englander and New Yorker. Mills and quarries were in successful operation, fifty stores supplied the wants of the townspeople and of the farmers of the surrounding country, while the moral, religious and intellectual welfare of the community lacked nothing in the way of churches, schools and newspapers.

Norwegians, "Pennsylvania Dutch" and thrifty German farmers now came in numbers and added their stolid industry to the shrewd, sharp methods of the New Englander, each in his respective way adding to his own welfare and to the wealth of the country. The foreign population, however, did not become of much importance until after 1845.

An examination of the nativities of the pioneers who came to this part of Illinois before 1850 shows the influence of location upon the character of the settlements. Closely connected by

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[49] *Past and Present of LaSalle County*, 309.
[50] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 312.
[51] *Seventh Census* (1850), 710.
[52] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 68.
[53] *Seventh Census* (1850), 716.

the Illinois river, with the settlements of the southern and central parts of the state it is natural to expect the presence of southern settlers in these counties. But they appear here only in very small numbers, being entirely outnumbered by the New Englanders and New Yorkers who came by way of the Great Lakes. The pioneers of Grundy county came principally from southern Ohio with a number from the southern and eastern states.[54] Most of the families had been pioneers in older settlements in the states from which they came, and, having been trained on the frontier, regarded it as the most attractive home. During the last years of the forties Norwegians began to come in chiefly from La Salle county. They were soon joined by others. In Will and LaSalle counties the scarcity of settlers from the southern states is plainly noticeable.[55]

The statistics given show more plainly than before the influence of lines of communication. The New Englanders and New Yorkers were farther removed from this part of Illinois than were the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans or their neighbors of southern Illinois. Steam navigation, however, tended towards the annihilation of distance and the Great Lakes offering the highway to the fertile Illinois lands played by far the most important part in fixing the characteristics of this northern settlement.

It must be noticed also where these pioneers settled. The wide bottom lands of the larger Illinois rivers, which, from unhealthfulness and liability to spring overflows, had kept the set-

[54] *History of Grundy County*, 148.

[55] Three hundred biographies of Will County pioneers were examined with the following results: one hundred and sixty came from the Middle Atlantic states, and of the e one hundred and thirty-six were New Yorkers; forty came from New England; seventy-five from foreign lands, one-third of the foreigners being Germans; sixteen were from the western states; six from the southern states and but three from Kentucky and Tennessee (*History of Will County*, 659-906). Eight hundred biographies of early settlers of LaSalle county were examined. Three hundred and sixteen came from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey; New York sent two hundred and twenty; two hundred and eight came from New England; one hundred from Ohio; one hundred from foreign lands; thirty from the South Atlantic and Gulf states and but eighteen from Kentucky and Tennessee (Baldwin, *History of LaSalle County*, 225-483). Combining the statistics noted it is found that over forty-three per cent. of these pioneers came from the middle Atlantic states: twenty-two per cent. from the New England states; a little more than three per cent. from the southern states and but two per cent. from Kentucky and Tennessee.

tlers back from their immediate vicinities in the south, were unknown in the north. The rivers were smaller, swifter and, while they overflowed their banks in some instances, the overflows did not remain for any length of time, consequently there was not the possibility of unhealthful locations near by. The towns as well as the earliest farms of this section of the state. were close to the rivers, a thing not true along the southern rivers save in exceptional cases.

Chicago's influence upon the growth of settlement is marked. As an agricultural country is one of the necessities for a city's growth, so is a market one of the requisites for the development of an agricultural district. In Chicago these northeastern counties found both a market and a supply depot, and before the coming of the railroads made transportation easy from all parts of the state it must be noticed that the development was greatest in those counties near Chicago or near the proposed Illinois–Michigan canal line. Numerous smaller towns sprang up, Peru, Ottawa, La Salle, Aurora and Joliet, all upon the rivers, thus showing the instinctive desire the pioneers had for communication with the outside world. These places hardly reached the city stage before 1850, for their ability to dispose of agricultural supplies and to act as supply depots was limited owing directly to imperfect communication. The railroads came later and solved the problem.

In the Fox river valley, Kendall and Du Page counties were the only ones which had settlements before the Black Hawk War. Naper's settlement in Du Page county was the only important one and numbered one hundred and eighty souls in 1832.[56] McHenry and Lake counties were not opened to settlers at this date. By a treaty in 1833 the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottowatomies ceded the last of their lands in Illinois and while these lands were not opened to settlers until 1836, a few pioneers had taken up claims in this part of the state before that date.[57]

With the close of the Black Hawk War the pioneers ventured

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[56] Richmond and Vallette, *History of Du Page County*, 6.

[57] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology* (1896-97), 2, 750.

farther north along the river and all through the years 1834, 1835 and 1836 the immigrants poured into the state. animated by hopes of sudden wealth. All the timber land in Du Page county was claimed by 1835 but for several years, in spite of the rapid immigration, few houses could be found away from the timber. Naperville. advantageously situated on the road from Ottawa to Chicago, was the most important town for a time and its two taverns did a rushing business during the period when land speculators thronged the neighborhood and later when the farmers carted their surplus products to Chicago.

By 1834 the line of settlements had reached Kane county and cabins dotted the banks of the Fox river for miles. collecting here and there into little villages where advantages were offered. St. Charles, Elgin and Aurora sprang up along the Fox in the course of a few years.

Aurora was located because the river at this point seemed to offer some advantages of water power and by 1836 the settlement had all the requirements of a thriving frontier village. Even the panic of 1837 had no noticeable effect upon its steady development, for unlike many of the early Illinois towns. Aurora was built upon a solid basis rather than upon imaginary prospects. Elgin was also located upon the Fox river in 1835, the location being selected on account of water power.[58]

St. Charles. a small settlement on the Fox between Aurora and Elgin, lays claim to notice in this period through the class of its settlers. In 1834 a colony of Virginians with over two hundred head of live stock emigrated to this place. It seems an exceptional case, for seldom indeed were southerners found in this part of the state. During the same year another colony, this time from New Brunswick, was added to the community.[59]

In spite of the fact that settlers were forbidden by the Federal government to reside in the recently ceded Indian lands of Lake and McHenry counties until 1836, several claims were made in Lake county on the Aux Plaines river in 1834.[60] Little

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[58] *History of the City of Elgin*, 3; in *Illinois Local Histories*, 2, Wisconsin Historical Society Library.

[59] *Past and Present of Kane County*, 329, 331.

[60] *History of Lake County*, 220.

settlement was made, however, until 1836, for the summer of 1835 was exceedingly cold and many who came with the intention of settling here were induced to move farther towards the interior.[61] By 1837 there were probably three hundred people within the county limits.[62]

The same conditions prevailed in McHenry county and the population before 1836 consisted of a few squatters. Besides the New Englanders who seem to have predominated there were some Virginians and foreigners.[63]

The period 1837–43 was one of slow growth. Kendall and Du Page counties were organized but neither had many settlers. McHenry and Lake counties grew slowly in population and especially in the size of their towns. Since these counties were agricultural districts and had no markets in the immediate vicinity there was no tendency towards concentration of population.

During the remainder of the period until 1850 the development is hard to trace, save in Kane county, where, owing to water facilities, concentration took place to a greater extent than in the other counties. The advancement which had been made in population was accompanied by a like advancement in the standard of living among the pioneers, for the farms at the close of the period had the appearance of being well cultivated and the log houses of the preceding decade had, in most cases, given way to neater frame ones, prettily painted and well furnished.[64] The timber lands slowly disappeared and were supplanted by the orchards of the thrifty New Englander or German. Schools were to be found in every village.

Elgin and Waukegan were towns of considerable importance and each owed its growth to a different cause. Elgin was primarily a manufacturing town, ranking well up as such among the towns of the state in 1850. In addition to this fact it could be called a railroad town also, for it was in 1850 the terminus of the first railroad of northern Illinois, which was

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[61] Kingston, *Early Western Days*, 338, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, 7.

[62] *History of McHenry County*, 166.

[63] *Ibid.*, *passim*.

[64] *Prairie Farmer*, 7, 298.

in time to develop into a part of the Chicago and Northwestern system.

Waukegan, with a population of 3,000 in 1850,[65] had shown a surprising growth. The back country was an agricultural one and since settlement was going on rapidly, lumber and merchandise were necessities. Waukegan had a good port and being closer to the settlers of these counties, than was Chicago, it naturally became the landing place for the lumber used in the back country and to this rapidly increasing trade the growth of Waukegan may be attributed.[66] The development of the railroads later acted as a detriment to the city when they diverted the trade of this rapidly growing district towards Chicago.[67] Aside from Waukegan there was no town of any importance in either Lake or McHenry county.

From all portions of the nation the settlers came. After the Southerners who trailed the army pursuing Black Hawk northward, there came a swarm of Yankees from Boston, from the Connecticut valley, from the Berkshire Hills, from New Hampshire, from Vermont and from Rhode Island. These were joined by New Yorkers from the Genesee Valley, from Otsego, Syracuse, Utica, Plattsburg, Oneida, Orange, Tompkins, Washington and Chemung counties, and to these were added Scotch, Irish, "Pennsylvania Dutch," Welsh, French, Scandinavians, Germans and even negroes.[68] The men from the northern states predominated and everywhere the fine appearance of the farms and dwellings denoted the thrift, comfort and wealth of the careful New York and New England farmers.

Viewing the field as a whole, noticeable results appear. In 1830 there were some 6,000 people in the counties treated in this chapter. By 1840 there were almost 46,000 and in 1850 the

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[65] *Seventh Census* (1850), 710.

[66] In 1845 one hundred and ninety boats landed at Waukegan; in 1850 the number had risen to 1095. In 1846 there were 1,500,000 feet of lumber brought to the port and in 1850 the lumber trade amounted to 1,500,000 feet. (Haines, *History of Lake County*, 103–108.)

[67] The importance of the trade may be judged from the development in population, the increase in the two counties for the decade 1841–50 being almost 24,000. *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

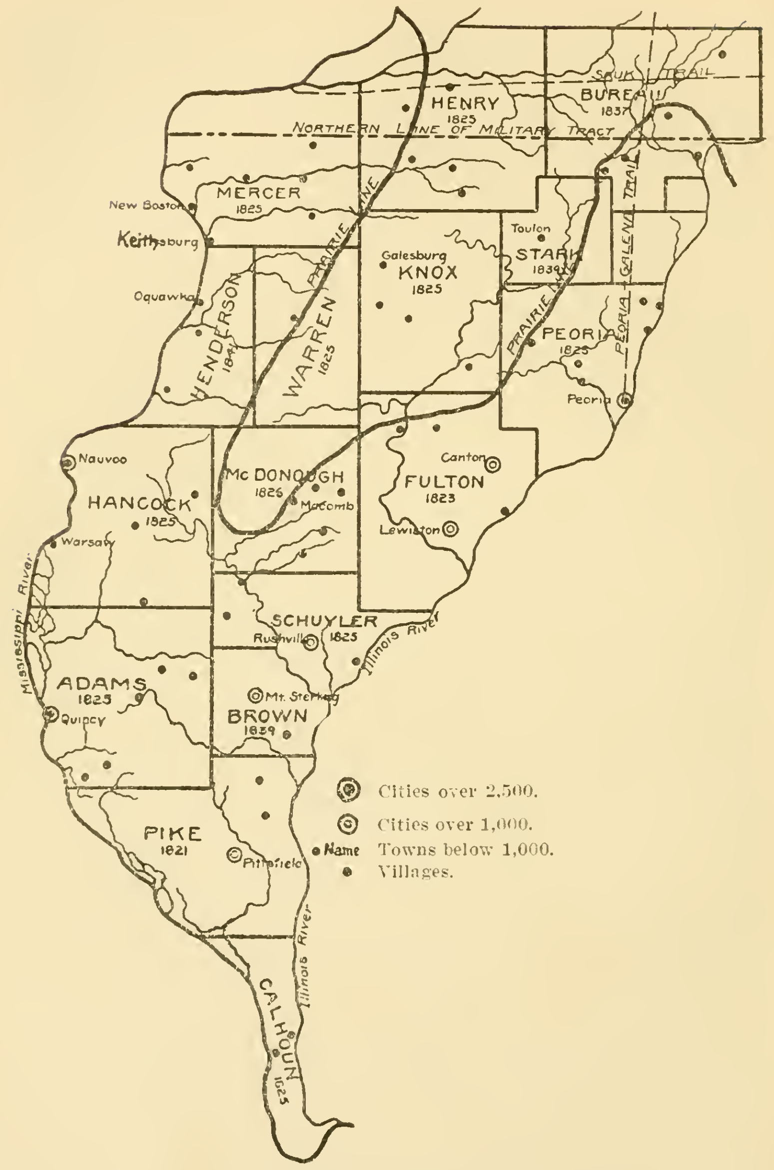
[68] A summary based upon an examination of the biographies given in the county histories.

number had reached 132,000. Settlement took place most rapidly in the northern counties during the decade 1841–1850, these counties gaining more than twice as many settlers during the decade as did the five counties in the Middle Illinois valley.[69]

The influence of lines of transportation is plainly seen in the characteristics of the northern settlements. Slowly the hunter-pioneer of the south had worked his way through the timber lands of the Illinois Valley until the Black Hawk War had stopped his progress. When quiet again reigned along the frontier line the pioneer returned to his work of conquest but too late, for before he could regain lost ground the development of steam navigation upon the lakes had opened the way for the New York and New England farmers and they were busy in the woodlands coveted by the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans. In the struggle between the two classes of pioneers for the possession of northern Illinois, numbers and speed of communication had weight and the methods employed by the pioneer of the earlier years gave way before the influence of steam, and the hunter-pioneer was forced to leave this section of the country and seek a home elsewhere. His work, however, had been accomplished, for these hardy hunters had, by following the line of the Illinois river, cut the great prairie almost in two and had given the agricultural pioneer a basis upon which he could work when he grappled with the problems of the prairies.

While the agricultural population was much in excess of the urban population there were in 1850 several towns of considerable importance in the valley. Peru and Ottawa each had 3,000 settlers, Joliet and Waukegan had 2,500 each, Elgin and St. Charles more than 2.000 each, while Naperville and Pekin had somewhere between 1,600 and 1,700 each. Several others had less. In each case favorable locations upon the Illinois river or upon roads leading to Chicago explain the growth of the cities; some were located on account of the presence of water-power, others to become a point of contact between an agricultural back country and the markets so much needed.

[69] From 1841 to 1850 the five counties of the middle Illinois Valley gained 20,300 settlers; the three counties of the upper Illinois gained 18,000 and the five Fox river counties gained 47,700. (*Seventh Census* (1850), 701–702.)



THE MILITARY TRACT (1850)

Curved line shows the limits of the prairie: less than 20 per cent. woodland. Year indicates date of county organization.

CHAPTER VI

The Military Tract

The Military Tract includes most of that portion of the state lying between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, south of Rock Island county. This territory, which had been set aside by the Federal government for the veterans of the War of 1812, contains thirteen entire counties and parts of three others, in all more than 5,000,000 acres, not far from the area of the state of Massachusetts.[1]

Many grants were made but few were actually settled upon by the grantees. Fearing the toils of pioneer life or lacking a definite knowledge of the value of the lands ceded, many sold their grants, (one hundred and sixty acres each) for nominal sums, considering themselves fortunate when able to convert what seemed visionary wealth into actual wealth, even though it was no more than a cow or a horse.[2]

However, the people who resided in Illinois at the time were well aware of the value of the land and proceeded to "squat" upon it, since they were unable to get any valid title to it, not knowing the actual owners. Cultivation by the squatters followed and often trouble came also. Land sharks, ever on the lookout for bargains, watched the increasing value of the farms, hunted up the original owners, bought their claims and returned to Illinois to oust the occupants and profit by their improvements. Forged titles resulted and with these came almost endless chains of entanglements and litigation.

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[1] See Van Zandt, *A full description . . . of the Military Lands between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers* (Washington, 1818).

[2] *History of Fulton County*, 191; J. Flint, *Letters from America*, 187 (Thwaites Ed.), says, shares sold even so low as half a dollar per acre.

By 1831 eleven counties had been organized[3] and the population of the entire Tract numbered over 12,000 people, five-sixths of whom were living in the southern part in the counties of Calhoun, Pike, Adams, Schuyler and Fulton.[4]

The first successful settlement in the Military Tract and the only one before 1820 was at Peoria. During the French régime Peoria had acted as a connecting link between the French on the lakes and those on the Mississippi but, having caused the Americans no little worry during the War of 1812 it was destroyed. At that date the village was a small one.[5] Ft. Clark was erected here in 1813[6] and in 1819 the permanent American occupation began, the earliest settlers coming from southern Illinois.[7] There were several other settlements in the county by 1830 but of no great importance.[8]

Calhoun county at the extreme southern end of the Tract, was never, during the entire period, thickly settled.[9] The lumbering industry in which most of the settlers were interested tended to make the population an unstable one. Here we see an example of settlement which is an exception to the general rule. Primarily the population was one aiming to exploit the lumbering resources of the district but there was also a farmer class. On the Illinois prairie which extends along the foot of the bluffs of the Illinois river was the farming district of the county. The land was fertile and the 'bottom' was high enough above the river to escape flooding which in many localities compelled the early settlers to leave the cultivation of the most fertile parts of the state until later and to take possession of the higher wooded portions first, being careful to remain as near as possible to the rivers in order to profit by transportation facilities which they offered.

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[3] The counties organized were Calhoun, Pike, Adams, Hancock, Mercer, Schuyler, Fulton, Peoria, McDonough, Warren and Knox.

[4] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-702.

[5] There were sixteen men in the village. (Ballance, *History of Peoria*, 18.)

[6] *Life of Gurdon S. Hubbard*, 28.

[7] Ballance, *History of Peoria*, 45.

[8] Settlements were made at Chillicothe, Logan, Medina, Trivoli and there was also a colony of Ohioans in Halleck township. (*History of Peoria County*, 577, 591, 604, 606, 618.)

[9] In 1830 there were over 1,000 settlers in the county and in 1850 the population was a little over 3,000. (*Seventh Census* (1850), 701.)

Pike county, which received its first settlers in 1820 had a population of 2,400 in 1830.[10] The county extends the entire distance between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers in the vicinity of which the land is broken and covered to quite an extent with timber. Between the great river systems are rolling prairies traversed by creeks whose banks are lined with timber making the district one admirably fitted for meeting the desires of the pioneers. The county consequently filled up rapidly after its first settlement in 1820 and in 1850 had a population of 18,800 people.[11]

Schuyler county which until 1839 included Brown county, was in 1830 the most thickly settled county of the Military Tract, having nearly 3,000 settlers.[12] The pioneers even at this early day were gathered from many parts of the country. The first settler was a New Englander who was soon followed by a colony from Kentucky. Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois each contributed settlers early.[13] The settlements were small and were generally placed back at some distance from the river. Nearly twenty townships had received settlers before 1830.[14]

Fulton county was organized in 1823[15] having been cut off from Pike county. Lewiston and Canton were the chief settlements in 1830, the former becoming the county town.

While the large river forming the eastern boundry of these counties was the highway for communication with the rest of the country, the first settlers did not congregate here. A few grouped themselves near the river to take advantage of what little commerce there was, but as a rule the settlers, being interested in agriculture, preferred to leave the river bottoms of the large streams and take the timber land along the smaller ones, for the small prairies adjoining relieved the pioneers of

[10] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

[11] *Ibid.*, 702.

[12] *Ibid.*, 702.

[13] *History of Schuyler and Brown Counties*. 58. ff.

[14] *History of Schuyler and Brown Counties*, 267–373.

[15] The county was supposed to have had three hundred and fifty voters at the time of organization but at an election held that year only thirty-five votes were cast (*History of Fulton County*, 214).

the labor of making clearings. Moreover, the high ground back from the rivers seemed more healthful, for in the bottoms fever and ague were enemies greatly feared.[16]

Of those counties bordering on the Mississippi river Adams and Hancock were the most thickly settled. The first settlers came to Adams county in 1820, and in 1825, when the county was organized, forty votes were cast at the first election. Owing to the scarcity of money and to the fact that the lands were not yet on the market immigration to this county was slow. Quincy, the largest settlement and the seat of county government, was first settled in 1822 and by 1830 had two hundred inhabitants.[17] Various other smaller settlements brought the total population of the county up to about 2.200.[18] The names Adams and Quincy both given in honor of John Quincy Adams, seem to imply the presence of New Englanders in the county at the time of organization but the nativities of the early pioneers show a majority of people from other sections of the country and especially from Kentucky.

Hancock county also on the Mississippi river had but five hundred inhabitants,[19] Venus, later to be known as Nauvoo, being the chief town.[20] A settlement which had been made at Oquawka landing on the Mississippi river in 1828 was the only one in Henderson county in 1830.[21] In Mercer county, New Boston and Keithsburg were the places first settled. Here some Pennsylvanians established themselves in 1827 and earned a livelihood by cutting wood for Mississippi river steamboats. For five years they remained but at the first Indian alarm they left for central Illinois and Mercer county was again without inhabitants.[22]

What has been said concerning the location of the settlements in the counties along the Illinois river will apply equally well

[16] By consulting a map of Illinois it will be noted that the early settlements of Canton, Lewiston, Rushville, Ripley, Cooperstown, Mt. Sterling, Versailles and others are all placed back a few miles from the Illinois river.

[17] *History of Adams County*, 259-268; Asbury, *Quincy*, 41.

[18] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

[19] *Ibid.*, 701.

[20] *The National Calendar* (1830), 249.

[21] *History of Mercer and Henderson Counties*, 869.

[22] *Ibid.*, 46, 119.

to the settlements along the Mississippi. The most important town on this side of the Military Tract was, however, placed directly upon the river. The location was admirable and Quincy enjoyed all the advantages of a good landing place and a healthful site on a high bluff over-hanging the river. To the rear of the city was a rich agricultural district filling up with settlers who, when their crops ripened, carted them to Quincy for shipment to southern markets. Naturally it also became the distributing point for the back country and through the lively trade which sprang up the village made rapid strides. The other early settlements in these counties were back a considerable distance from the river, the pioneers selecting the timbered tracts bordering the small prairies.[23]

The interior counties of the Military Tract, save in the case of Bureau, had very few settlers in 1830.[24] In McDonough county the settlements at Pennington's Point and Industry in the southern part of the county seem to indicate that the first settlement was made from the counties to the south. Nearly all the pioneers were from Kentucky and Tennessee and it is probable that they followed up the tributaries of the Illinois which flow through Schuyler county. Probably there were not more than sixty voters in the county in 1830.[25] The settlement of Warren[26] and Knox[27] counties began in 1827 when a family of New Englanders settled in the former. Stories of a rich agricultural district were carried back to the older settlements of Illinois by the 'bee-hunters' who passed through Knox county in 1827 and in the following year pioneers from Schuyler county came to settle here. Several settlements were started and in 1830 the combined population of the counties numbered about five hundred people.[28] Bureau county had but five fami-

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[23] The other early settlements were in Adams county and were Camp Point, Clayton, Columbus, Ellington and Fall Creek. All were in the interior.

[24] McDonough, Knox, Stark, Bureau and Henry counties had about six hundred in all (*Seventh Census* (1850), 701).

[25] Clarke, *History of McDonough County*, 19.

[26] *History of Warren County*, 107.

[27] *History of Knox County*, 102.

[28] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.

lies in 1828 although the first settlement had been made in 1820.[29]

Such were the settlements of the Military Tract in 1830. By far the greater part of the population was in the southern part of the Tract close to the more thickly settled districts of central Illinois. There were no towns of any consequence save Quincy, and the prairie district of the north was practically untouched. The pioneers were chiefly southerners. From 1831 to 1850 Calhoun county did not increase rapidly in population since it did not offer the advantages for agriculture that were to be found in other parts of the state. When the lumber industry began to wane the stream of settlers decreased accordingly. Four small villages formed the urban population in 1850.[30]

Pike county added over 16,000 settlers during the twenty years and since there were but three villages in the county in 1850, it is natural to believe that the population was almost entirely rural.[31] The pioneers had for a time remained as close as possible to the timber but by 1850 there were settlements on the small prairies.[32] "Corncrackers and Hoosiers with a right smart sprinkling of Yankees" made up the population but almost every state in the union was represented here. A Mormon town had been founded and had declined before 1850.[33]

The Illinois river counties,[34] Schuyler, Fulton and Peoria, had in 1830 an aggregate population of 5,000 and ten years later their population amounted to over 26,000.[35] Before Brown county was cut off from Schuyler in 1839, La Grange and Mt.

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[29] It was not a permanent settlement, being made by a French fur trader named Bourbonnais. He was in the employ of the American Fur Company (*History of Bureau County*, 79-83).

[30] Gilead, Hardin, Illinois and Point were the settlements. Each had between five and eight hundred settlers. (*Seventh Census* (1850), 704.)

[31] Pittsfield, Perry and Griggsfield, each with less than seven hundred inhabitants, were the villages. (*Seventh Census* (1850), 714.)

[32] Almost half the county was under cultivation (Peyton, *Statistical view of Illinois*, 13).

[33] *History of Pike County*, 239.

[34] For convenience of treatment the counties of the tract will now be divided into three sections. The Illinois river counties being Schuyler, Fulton and Peoria; the Mississippi river counties being Adams, Hancock, Henderson and Mercer; the counties of McDonough, Warren, Knox, Stark, Henry and Bureau being classed as the inland counties.

[35] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.

Sterling had become towns of some importance. Several eastern parties were engaged in business at the former place, which, owing to its situation upon the Illinois river, became a port of some consequence in the river traffic. All the goods shipped to the county came up the river and La Grange was the landing place as well as the shipping point for the back country towns, especially Mt. Sterling and Versailles.[36]

Mt. Sterling, which was to be the county town of Brown county when organized, enjoyed but slow growth before 1834 when a revival of energy took place, the village growing to one of fifty houses by 1837.[37] The same revival of energy which was the result of the speculative spirit which swept over the country during the decade also gave Brown county its first experience with "paper towns," Washington being laid out in 1836.[38] No further development was made, however.

Rushville, Fredericksville, Huntsville and Birmingham were the principal towns of Schuyler county in 1850. Rushville enjoyed a steady growth from the time of its establishment in 1829. A wool carding factory and other industries, begun in 1831,[39] drew laborers and mechanics to the village which by 1832 had four hundred inhabitants clustered about five little stores.[40] Cholera during the year of 1834 swept away many of the settlers but the little village continued to grow until in 1837 it was a town of 1,200 inhabitants having five churches, twelve stores and four hundred houses.[41] Most of the houses were frame ones, the lumber probably being brought from Calhoun county where the industry was carried on rather extensively. Fredericksville on the Illinois river was of some importance as a shipping point. The other named towns were still young and small, having been laid out in 1836.[42]

Fulton county from 1830 to 1840 gained 12,300 inhabitants, most of them going to the rural districts.[43] Canton was a

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[36] *History of Schuyler and Brown counties*, 322.
[37] *Illinois in 1837*, 105.
[38] *History of Schuyler and Brown counties*, 271.
[39] *Ibid.*, 234.
[40] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, **2**, 260.
[41] *Illinois in 1837*, 128.
[42] *History of Schuyler and Brown counties*, 363-373.
[43] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

village of four hundred people in 1835,[44] when it was completely destroyed by a storm.[45] It had recovered some of its importance by 1837 when with Lewiston and Farminton it was named as one of the largest settlements in the county.[46] Washington, Fairview, Middleton, Liverpool, Ellisville and Bernadotte, all small towns consisting of a few cabins and a store, make up the list of Fulton county settlements. Vermont, a similar village seems to imply by its name a New England settlement which, however, was not true. Kentuckians made the settlement but the name was given by the solitary New Englander residing there, he having purchased with a jug of whiskey the right to name the settlement.[47]

Peoria county had in 1840 over 6,000 settlers[48] and the town of Peoria was the chief center of population. The town had a favorable location being placed on a high bluff at the foot of Peoria lake. In 1832 it was a small village of fifteen or twenty log cabins but being the strongest one in this part of the frontier it was the place of refuge for the pioneers who fled from the northern districts at the opening of the Black Hawk War.[49] Communication by steamboats on the Illinois river and by stages overland kept Peoria in touch with the neighboring settlements. In 1834 the population was estimated at between three and four hundred[50] and a year later at over eight hundred.[51] In this last year the first Germans[52] came to settle here and in 1836 New Englanders first appeared in the town.[53] By 1837 it was a thriving town.[54] Rome, Chillicothe, Brimfield, Northampton, Allentown, Kickapoo, Hudson and Caledonia were settlements of lesser note.[55]

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[44] *History of Fulton county*, 527.

[45] *Chicago Weekly American*, July 4, 1835.

[46] *Illinois in 1837*, 78–118.

[47] *History of Fulton county*, 899.

[48] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

[49] *History of Peoria county*, 451.

[50] *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, June 4, 1834.

[51] *St. Louis Commercial Bulletin*, Dec. 18, 1835.

[52] *History of Peoria county*, 489.

[53] *Western Messenger*, April, 1836.

[54] *Illinois in 1837*, 126, says that Peoria had twenty-five stores, two hotels, six churches and over 1,600 inhabitants.

[55] *History of Peoria county*, 572–577.

Of the Mississippi river counties, Adams county gained over 12,000 inhabitants during the decade.[56] Quincy with its advantageous location grew with equal rapidity. For several years the lack of good building material and the high price of lumber were difficulties to be overcome but the village doubled its population from 1830 to 1832 and at the time of its incorporation in 1834 its population was estimated at six hundred.[57]

During the next few years while the state enjoyed great prosperity, Quincy continued to develop and the tide of immigration increased steadily until in 1838 the village had a population of 1,500 or more,[58] making it the largest settlement in the Military Tract.[59] Its importance as a shipping point for agricultural products was now recognized, three hundred steamboats arriving or leaving during the year of 1837, while the trade in pork, flour and wheat amounted to $112,500 for that year.[60] Sawmills were kept busy supplying lumber for new buildings and with the increased demand for laborers the floating population grew. The population was derived from all countries but Yankees and Kentuckians were in the majority and about equally divided.[61] In 1840 Quincy obtained a city charter.[62]

Outside of Quincy there were no settlements of much importance. Payson, which was laid out in 1835, was surrounded by a rich agricultural district and for a time gave promise of becoming an important settlement but the development so well begun soon ceased, probably owing to the rivalry with Quincy.[63] The remaining settlements were small being only agricultural villages giving little promise of immediate development.

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[56] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

[57] Asbury, *Quincy*, 44.

[58] Estimates varied: 1,500 (*Illinois in 1837*, 127); 1,653 (Redmond, *Quincy*, 15); 3,000 (Buckingham, *Eastern and Western states*, 3, 162).

[59] In 1835 Quincy had a population of seven hundred people. (Redmond, *Quincy*, 14.) There were ten stores, a printing office and over one hundred houses in the village. (Asbury, *Quincy*, 47.) In 1837 there were twenty-five stores, a land office, three taverns, two saw mills and two churches. (*Illinois in 1837*, 127.)

[60] Redmond, *Quincy*, 15.

[61] Asbury, *Quincy*, 47.

[62] *History of Adams county*, 454.

[63] *Ibid.*, 551.

Although Hancock increased steadily in number of settlers it is difficult to speak accurately concerning their location since there were no towns of size in the county. Warsaw on the bank of the Mississippi was laid out in 1834 but did not grow to any size for a number of years.[64] Venus, also well located on the great river, was slow in growth. The name was early changed to Commerce which was in turn to be forgotten when, under the régime of Joseph Smith, Nauvoo rose upon the site of Venus. Before the coming of the Mormons it had a few hundred inhabitants and such facilities for business as were generally found in pioneer towns.[65] Carthage and Fountain Green, both later to be connected with the history of the Mormon occupation, were the chief interior settlements. Pulaski, Chili and La Harpe may also be mentioned.[66]

Henderson county, as yet unorganized, had some small settlements. Oquawka, laid out in 1836, was probably of the greatest importance, being for years, until the building of the railroads, the shipping point for the produce of Knox, Henderson and Mercer counties.[67] Shokokon, also a river town, was the center of a rich agricultural district and would probably have increased in importance had it possessed the advantage of a good landing. The river, however, was too shallow here for the boats and instead of becoming a shipping point it developed the lumber industry. Rafts came down from Wisconsin and were sawed here. Its population never exceeded three hundred persons.[68]

Mercer county, although organized in 1825 grew very slowly for ten years, there being not more than two hundred and fifty settlers within its limits in 1835.[69] In 1840 there were almost 10,000 people here.[70] Keithsburg and New Boston were the river towns but neither was of importance and of the numer-

[64] *History of Hancock county*, 638.
[65] *Overland Monthly*, **16**, N. S. 620.
[66] *History of Hancock county, passim.*
[67] *History of Henderson and Mercer counties*, 887.
[68] *Ibid.*, 888.
[69] *Ibid.*, 48.
[70] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

ous inland settlements Sugar Grove, settled by Tennesseeans, seems to have been the most thriving community.[71]

The inland counties of the Tract, McDonough, Warren, Knox, Stark, Henry and Bureau were all organized in the decade 1831–1840 and had in 1830 a combined population of a few more than six hundred inhabitants.[72] After the close of the Black Hawk War the report was spread about that this portion of the state was exceedingly fertile and would make an excellent place for settlement. Accordingly, immigrants began to find their way up the rivers and over the prairies from Ohio, Indiana and various other places.

During the first few years immediately following the war but little of note happened in McDonough county and but few families moved in. The population, however, increased to over 2,800 before the close of 1835.[73] Macomb, the seat of justice, Edmonson's Prairie and Middletown were struggling settlements in 1835. From 1837 to 1845 there were hard times in McDonough county owing to the financial depression throughout the state. Money was almost unknown and all business transactions were carried on by means of barter, notes often being made payable in a cow, a horse or half a dozen hogs.[74] In spite of the handicap, settlement increased and, at the close of the decade 1831–1840, numbered over 5,000 inhabitants.[75]

After 1832 scattered settlements were located at various points in Warren county and everywhere the pioneers petitioned the county commissioners court for roads to connect the widely scattered hamlets with market places. Monmouth, the chief town, had but eighty inhabitants in 1835 but grew more rapidly during the closing years of the decade.[76] The population of the entire county in 1840 was a little over 6,700 people.[77]

In 1831 half a dozen weak settlements comprised all of Knox

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[71] Sugar Grove had sixty settlers in 1835. The other settlements were in Ohio Grove, Abington, Suez, Greene, Pre-emption, Richland Grove, Rivoli and Eliza townships. (*History of Henderson and Mercer counties*, 272–742.)

[72] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.

[73] Clarke, *History of McDonough county*, 76.

[74] Clarke, *History of McDonough county*, 60.

[75] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

[76] *Past and Present of Warren county*, 142.

[77] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

county's population but at the close of the decade there were 7,000 settlers within the limits of the county.[78] In 1835 Knoxville with a population of two hundred people was the chief town.[79] A year later Galesburg, which was destined to be the most important city of the county, was founded. In 1834 Rev. George W. Gale of Oneida county, New York, matured a plan for planting a colony in the West which should be a center of moral and intellectual influence. Later he issued a circular setting forth his plan and soliciting subscribers. A committee for exploration was sent out and upon its recommendation the present site of Galesburg was purchased in 1835. Early in the next year a colony of forty persons[80] left New York and came by canal boat up the Illinois river to a convenient landing place, traveling from there overland. Log City was the name first given to the settlement and by 1837 its populaton was estimated at two hundred and thirty.[81] In ten townships settlements had been located before 1840 but it seems nearly impossible to determine their size.[82]

Henry county which had but 1,260 settlers in 1840[83] was occupied first by colonies thereby being an exception to the general rule governing the settlement of the state. When speculation in Illinois lands got fairly under way in 1835, Henry county became the scene of an exceptionally large number of this experimental class of settlements. Persons authorized to purchase large tracts of land visited the county during that year and much to the detriment of the individual settlers, if not to the benefit of the companies represented, made purchases. As a result, Andover, Wethersfield, Geneseo, Morristown, La Grange, and later the Bishop Hill colonies were established.[84] The first three had religious aims and all aimed at the dissemination of education save possibly the Bishop Hill colony which seems to have been strictly religious.

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[78] *Ibid.*, 702.

[79] *History of Knox county*, 629.

[80] *Stories of the Pioneer Mothers of Illinois.* (Letter of Mary Allen West. *MSS.* in Illinois Historical Society Library.)

[81] Bascom, *Settlement of Galesburg*, 25.

[82] *History of Knox County*, 479–507.

[83] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

[84] *History of Henry County*, 117.

First of these experiments was the Andover settlement, situated a few miles southwest of the center of the county. A committee acting for a New York association located a tract of land here in 1835, began the first settlement upon it and platted a city. Success did not crown their efforts to any marked degree for the land was held by the proprietors at too high a price and immigrants passed it by.[85]

Returning from the planting of the Andover colony, Mr. Pillsbury, one of the committee, immediately attempted to interest Dr. Tenney, an influential minister of Wethersfield, Connecticut, in a similar undertaking. An association of sixty men with a capital stock of $25,000 was formed, land was purchased in Henry county and a settlement begun.[86] Few of the purchasers came west and consequently the growth of the settlement was slow.

During the winter of 1834–35 notices were published in several of the New York papers calling a meeting of all people interested in western colonization. The result was the formation of a New York colony and the appointment of the usual committee for exploration and purchase. The committee purchased 20,000 acres of land in Henry county. Each member of the colony bound himself to erect upon his claim buildings to the value of two hundred dollars and should this provision not be carried out the land should revert to the company on the grounds of a broken contract. Moreover it was provided that the settlers who fulfilled their contracts should be allowed to take the claims of the delinquent ones by paying three dollars an acre, or double the original price of the claim. Seeing the possibility of making a good bargain at least four-fifths of the colonists failed to fulfill the building contract and by so doing doubled their money. Many, however, were honest in their intentions but were prevented from carrying them out because of the panic of 1837 which came before the two years had expired. The most desirable lots were put up at auction and some six or seven thou-

[85] *History of Henry County*, 524.

[86] The shares in the company sold for two hundred and fifty dollars each and entitled the purchaser to one hundred and eighty acres of land, twenty of which were to be timber land (*History of Henry County*, 137-140).

sand dollars resulted to the association with which fund a public lodging house was built for the accommodation of colonists until they were able to erect their own abodes. A few colonists came in 1836, five in all and by 1837 there were but ten families on the whole prairie.[87] One more experiment therefore could, for the time, be called a failure.

As a result of a religious revival of unusual excitement in New York the Geneseo colony was established in Henry county in 1836. The idea was conceived in 1831 and after proper exploration a colony was formed. A village was to be laid out in lots and the lots were to be sold only to such men as were of good character. The proceeds were to go towards building a high school.

In September, 1836, forty persons in wagons started across Canada, southern Michigan and northern Indiana to Illinois. The journey took nine weeks and when the little colony reached its future home the members could not have been very favorably impressed with the outlook. Their nearest neighbor on the west was at Rock Island, twenty-five miles away; on the south the Andover and Wethersfield colonies were just establishing themselves; on the east the Northampton colony was struggling to gain a foothold at Princeton and on the north a few straggling families lived along the Rock river. However, the colony erected its canvas roofed church, opened its school and proceeded to make the best of the situation.[88]

Henry county had but few settlers in 1840 and the settlement does not seem to have been a natural one. Speculation was raging in the eastern states and the hope of sudden riches tempted many to invest in western lands. Settlements would increase the value of the holdings so it is natural to believe that land owners would also be promoters of colonizing schemes and to this it seems were due the colonies of Henry county.

Bureau county was settled slowly before the Black Hawk War. Being a frontier county its inhabitants were exposed to Indian attacks and few of the pioneers, daring as they might be, cared to risk their lives on the extreme frontier when it offered

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[87] *History of Henry County*, 135.

[88] *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Geneseo*, 3–9.

no advantages superior to those of the more protected parts. By 1831 only sixteen families resided within the limits of Bureau county. A year later there were forty cabins in the county, thirty of which were grouped on Bureau creek in the southeastern part. The largest settlement was that at Princeton which was composed of nine families.[89]

Princeton was settled in 1831 by a colony from Northampton, Massachusetts. It was the first of a series of attempts at colonization, such as have been spoken of in Henry county. The Hampshire colony, as it was called, assembled at Albany, New York, in May, 1831, and began its journey westward by way of the Great Lakes to the St. Jo river in Michigan, whence the little caravan proceeded on foot to the Kankakee river and floated down it on a craft composed of two canoes lashed together. One lone settler occupied the site of Princeton when the colony arrived. The members established themselves here and called the place Greenfield and although a settlement of a very small size, it became in later years the nucleus of a considerable New England population.[90] A dozen other small settlements were begun in the early years of the decade, Bureau and Selby being the most important ones and these having but four families each.[91]

In 1836 the influx began, for the wave which had started some years before from the eastern states as a result of the speculation craze was just reaching the western prairies of Illinois. The land had come into the market in 1835 and nearly all the good timber land was taken up at once. In 1836 the population of the county doubled, but even then there were few people here.[92] In the entire county there was but one meeting-house, two or three log school houses, two surveyed roads and not a bridge.[93] Lamoille in the northeastern part of the county was laid out in 1836. A store and a postoffice were added the next year and a year later, a hotel.[94]

Another colony of New Englanders was established about ten

[89] *Taxpayers and Voters of Bureau County,* 90-91.
[90] Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County,* 261.
[91] *Taxpayers and Voters of Bureau County,* 102.
[92] *Ibid.,* 102.
[93] Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County,* 397.
[94] *Taxpayers and Voters of Bureau County,* 135.

miles southwest of Princeton in 1836. The colony had been organized at Providence, Rhode Island and having taken the usual steps for exploration, had purchased 17,000 acres. In 1837, forty persons came to the proposed site of Providence village. For some time they resided in the colony house but soon were able to erect dwellings for themselves. Like all other colonies sent out during this period of experimentation and speculation, the greatest success did not attend the venture, but the colony added wealth and numbers to the slowly growing county which in 1840 had but 3,000 inhabitants.[95]

The decade 1831–1840 was one of rapid development in the Military Tract and the bulk of the population was still in the counties along the rivers.[96] The process of settlement was the same as had taken place in the decade previous. The new settlements along the tributaries of the large streams multiplied but the growth of the older settlements was not rapid, since the tendency displayed by the pioneers was ever to move towards the interior, taking up such land as was near the timber, and to shun the older settlements. This last characteristic was a natural one for the timber lands in the older settled regions had long been occupied and prices had advanced beyond what the pioneer could afford to pay. He was compelled, therefore, to move on to the prairie or toward the frontier and at this date he preferred the latter alternative as the great number of new settlements in the interior shows.

In some cases the hitherto unoccupied bottom lands were taken up as the settlements of Rome, Chillicothe, Fredericksville, Oquawka and others show. Along the numerous wooded tributaries of Spoon river and Crooked creek which penetrated the Military Tract, settlements were frequent and upon these settlements as bases the later pioneers were to build when they

[95] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

[96] In 1850 the population of Pike and Calhoun counties was 13,469, a numerical gain of 9,983 and a per cent. gain of 286; the population of the Mississippi river counties was 26,774, a numerical gain of 24,079 and a per cent. gain of 893; the population of the Illinois river counties was 30,450, a numerical gain of 25,094 and a per cent. gain of 468; the northern counties had a population of 25,007, a numerical gain of 24,384 and a per cent. gain of almost 4,000. *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-702.

began to experiment more seriously with the problem of the prairies.

The colonial attempts at settlement were a new departure and while as a general rule the colonies were not successful they seem to indicate that aside from the desire to make money the people felt that by systematic organization and numbers the prairies could be subdued. They were attempts to establish settlements which would be self-sufficing for a time at least.

The decade 1841–1850 was also one of considerable advancement. During the early years of the decade financial troubles hindered the growth of settlement for the time; the state was in distress, being overloaded with debt and thinking seriously of repudiation but still attempting to stave off disaster as long as possible by heavy taxation. The farmers could get little for their produce and even these small prices were not paid in cash. Money was so scarce that it was next to impossible to get enough to buy government lands, however low the price might be. In some places the settlers borrowed money at fifty per cent. in order to get a clear title to their lands.[97] When the state gradually emerged from its difficult position, times became better, money looser, taxes lower, confidence greater and settlement began again to extend.

The growth of the Illinois river counties seems to have been slow during the first half of the decade but was more rapid after 1845. Peoria was the most important city along the Illinois river, having enjoyed a rapid increase in numbers[98] and being a substantially built city well supplied with churches and schools.[99] It wore a marked New England aspect.[100]

Mt. Sterling in Brown county with five hundred and fifty inhabitants, Rushville in Schuyler county with twenty-six hundred, Canton and Lewiston in Fulton county with over fifteen hundred inhabitants each, were the chief villages of the Illinois river counties. Fulton county had a population grouped

[97] *History of Henderson and Mercer Counties*, 625.

[98] Estimates of Peoria's population are as follows: In 1844, 1,619; in 1847, 4,079; in 1849, 5,061. (Ballance, *Peoria*, 204); in 1850, 5,890. (Drown, *Historical View of Peoria*, 148.)

[99] *Prairie Farmer*, 7, 30.

[100] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 317.

in several comparatively large settlements, for nine in the county were credited with more than one thousand inhabitants in 1850.[101] The whole district had in 1850 a population aggregating almost 59,000 being nearly double the population of 1840.[102] There were 281,000 acres of land under cultivation in 1850 which shows the development of the farming portions of these counties.[103]

Adams county was still the most populous district along the Mississippi river as well as in the entire Military Tract. Quincy grew apace in numbers and commercial importance and in 1850 had a population of nearly 7,000, being second of Illinois cities in size.[104] The influence of its favorable location is even more marked after 1840 than before. A great deal of business was transacted here annually. In 1841, $330,000 worth of merchandise was disposed of in the city and 420,000 bushels of grain exported.[105] The manufacture of flour which had begun some years before was now a rapidly increasing industry for the output which numbered 21,500 barrels in 1843 had reached 68,000 barrels per annum in 1846. Pork packing was also a paying industry now and during the fiscal year 1847–48 about 20,000 hogs were packed by the dealers in the city.[106] Business increased and in spite of a temporary lull in 1849 caused by a visitation of Asiatic cholera and the California gold fever which, between them, carried away four hundred settlers,[107] Quincy yearly became of more importance. It was a city of substantial residences and numerous public buildings and business houses which with its green parks and shaded walks gave an eastern air to the thriving city.[108] The export trade of the city amounted to $500,000 per year by 1850 and a line of steamboats which

[101] *Seventh Census* (1850), 703-715.

[102] *Ibid.*, 701.

[103] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.

[104] *Seventh Census* (1850), 703.

[105] Redmond, *Quincy*, 15.

[106] Asbury, *Quincy*, 113–116.

[107] *Ibid.*, 81.

[108] There were twenty-six variety stores, two hardware stores, two book stores, five drug stores, ten ware-houses, six mills, four lumber yards, three machine shops, two foundries, three printing offices, two hotels, thirteen churches, five private and two public schools. (Redmond, *Quincy*, 15; Asbury, *Quincy*, 82; *Prairie Farmer*, 7, 383.)

made daily trips to St. Louis brought back such goods as were needed by the settlers of the district.[109]

The entire population of the county was 26,500 in 1850, fifteen settlements having more than eight hundred inhabitants each.[110] Almost 150,000 acres of land under cultivation showed the activity of the farmer class and the healthful influence of a good market.[111]

In Hancock county the Mormons were the center of attraction until 1846, and while swelling the population of the county until the date of their expulsion, their influence was a decidedly negative one. At the time of their arrival Hancock county had a population of about 7,000 but now all immigration, save that of the Mormons ceased and emigration began until not more than 4,000 American settlers were left in the county in 1845.[112] Aside from Nauvoo, the only settlements of note were Warsaw and Macedonia, and neither had a population of five hundred people.[113]

Coming from Missouri in 1839 the Mormon band settled at Commerce, changed the name to Nauvoo and occupied almost all the county together with portions of the neighboring counties. A charter was granted by the state legislature and the city of Nauvoo grew rapidly as the Mormon power increased until it was estimated that there were in Nauvoo and the adjoining country, about 30,000 of the sect. Next to St. Louis, it was the most important city of the Upper Mississippi.[114] The charter was repealed in 1845 and decline set in. Expulsion followed in 1846 and Illinois was rid of a class of people which had caused only a passing prosperity.

Following the Mormon exodus came the Icarians. These Icarians were Frenchmen who, in an attempt to put to a practical test the communistic doctrine of M. Cabet of Dijon, had come to America, intending to settle in Texas. The plan proved unsuccessful and a part of the colony under the leadership of

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[109] *Prairie Farmer*, 7, 383.
[110] *Seventh Census* (1850), 703.
[111] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.
[112] *Niles' Register*, 69, 109. See chap. xii., *post*.
[113] *History of Hancock County*, 638.
[114] Smith and Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints*, 3, 1.

Cabet himself landed at Nauvoo in March, 1846.[115] Eight hundred acres of land were rented and some of the abandoned Mormon houses were bought. The industry of these people and their peaceful, orderly habits caused them to be esteemed by their American neighbors and consequently the settlement prospered for several years. When the members left Illinois some years later it was not by request.

After the Mormons left the state, settlers again flocked in and at the close of the decade there were over 14,600[116] people in Hancock county and 80,000[117] acres of land were under cultivation.

Henderson and Mercer counties were occupied chiefly by farmers who had established themselves in the timber along the small streams. Oquawka, with less than six hundred inhabitants, was the center of population in Henderson county and maintained some importance as a shipping point for the county until the railroads were built. Keithsburg, Millersburg and New Boston were the largest settlements in Mercer county and not one of these had three hundred inhabitants.[118]

During the decade the counties had nearly doubled in population having in 1850 over 51,000 inhabitants.[119] There were under cultivation 300,000 acres making it the greatest farming district of the Military Tract.[120]

The prairie counties of this division of the state did not increase in population as rapidly during the decade 1841–1850, as did the other portions lying along the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. The gain in numbers amounted to over 20,000 or almost 5,000 less than during the preceding decade.[121] Financial distress in the state, no doubt, had its effect but probably the greatest influence working was the character of the district. Primarily a prairie region, the amount of woodland was limited. The rapid influx of immigration during the earlier years had filled up much of the desirable timber land leaving

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[115] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 372. See chap. xiii., *post*.
[116] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.
[117] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.
[118] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702-713.
[119] *Ibid.*, 702.
[120] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.
[121] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-702.

only the prairie for the later arrivals. Facilities for transportation were limited and so much trouble was experienced in obtaining lumber for fences and houses, that rather than remain and face such difficulties the later comers moved on.

McDonough, Warren and Stark counties where little unoccupied timber was left and where communication was poorly developed gained little in numbers during the decade.[122] Toulon in Stark county, Monmouth in Warren county and Macomb in McDonough county each has less than eight hundred inhabitants. Knoxville and Galesburg in Knox county were of the same size.[123]

During this period Henry county was the scene of another colonizing venture. This time it was by foreigners. Dissatisfaction with the state religion of Sweden caused quite a number to contemplate emigration and accordingly preparations were made and a messenger was sent to America to find a suitable location. Henry county was selected and in 1846 about five hundred emigrants arrived there.[124] By 1850 the number had doubled[125] and Bishop Hill, as the settlement was called, was the most important one in the county. At this time the infant settlements of Andover, Geneseo, Wethersfield and La Grange were still struggling for life and Kewanee and Galva, towns of importance in Henry county today, had as yet not sprung into existence, being products of the railroads.

Bureau county had increased at the close of the period about 5,800 but the increase was confined to the region of the rivers and old settlements. Princeton, Lamoille, Dover and Clarion were the settlements best known, the largest being Princeton with a population of less than eight hundred.[126] One division of Fourier's Phalanx made an unsuccessful attempt at establishing a settlement.[127] The entire population of these interior counties in 1850 shows an increase of eighty per cent. over 1840

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[122] The gain for the three counties was less than 5,000 (*Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702).

[123] *Ibid.*, 710-716.

[124] Bigelow, *Bishop Hill Colony*, 101-108, in *Transactions* of Ill. State Hist. Society, 1902. See chap. xiii., *post*.

[125] Mikkelson, *Bishop Hill Colony*, 36, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 10.

[126] *Seventh Census* (1850), 703.

[127] Hinds, *American Communities*, 224. See chap. xiii., *post*.

which is a smaller increase than either of the other sections and probably is due to the greater amount of prairie land here.

From 1831 to 1840 the entire Military Tract gained 83,500 in population; during the decade 1841–1850 the gain was but 80,-600, in all a gain of over 165,000 for the twenty years.[128] The decline noticed in the last decade probably can be attributed to increased competition from other parts of the state. The Rock river valley, the Fox river valley and the upper Illinois river valley were during the years 1841–1850 receiving great numbers of settlers and, having excellent timber land in larger quantities than remained unoccupied in the Military Tract, tended to attract the new comers.

The rule concerning the late settlement of the prairies and the early settlement of the woodlands holds in this portion of the state as well as the others. The Illinois and Mississippi river counties, having numerous small streams and tracts of woodland, settled rapidly but where the prairies were extensive the settlement was slow. The local historians repeatedly mention this fact and state that not until 1850, or even later, did the pioneers venture out into the open to any extent. The railroads were a necessity and until they solved the problems of the prairies, the pioneers were almost helpless in the face of the difficulties presented.

The largest settlements of the Military Tract, Peoria and Quincy, can be said to have advanced to the dignity of cities by 1850. Peoria was the most important port on the Illinois river as was Quincy on the Mississippi and with the development of the agricultural districts upon which they drew, as well as the development of steam traffic on the rivers whereby the southern markets were reached, these cities advanced rapidly in wealth, population and importance.

In the case of Quincy the effect of a favorable location is particularly noticeable. Its easy communication with markets in the South, its good landing place for steamers, its healthful site upon a bluff above the river and its rich tributary agricultural district aided in the rapid development already noted. Moreover the development of the flouring industry as well as that of

[128] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-702.

pork packing also aided in the city's prosperity and in order to save transportation expenses on manufactured goods, factories of various descriptions sprang up to add to the growth of the community. In fact the growth of Quincy is an illustration of the effect of favorable environment and of the interaction of agricultural and manufacturing districts.

Next in order of size were those cities which, while not situated directly upon the large rivers, were in close contact with them, being located from five to fifteen miles away, thus being free from the fevers which often swept the river bottoms, and still not far enough away to offer any serious difficulties in transportation. Pittsfield, Mt. Sterling, Rushville, Lewiston, and Canton City compose this class. In size they ranged from 1,500 to 2,500 inhabitants.

The third class of towns comprised those of the interior counties—generally the county seats—which, removed from water communication with the outside world were handicapped to such an extent as to hinder growth. When the railroads penetrated these counties their prosperity was to increase, but not before. Macomb, Monmouth, Galesburg, Toulon, Princeton and other towns ranging from five hundred to one thousand inhabitants are examples of this class.

Settlements by colonizing companies began to be of importance during the decade 1831–1840 when the whole country became entangled in land speculation. The Military Tract and especially Henry county, came in for its share of such ventures. No great success resulted, generally due to the lack of active settlers and the overabundance of those wishing to settle the county by theory rather than by practical attempts.

In the southern portions of the Military Tract the settlers to a great extent were men from the southern states, because these counties were settled earliest when this class of pioneers was in the majority. As has been mentioned before, the counties close to the Sangamon country where many Kentuckians and Tennesseeans resided, naturally received a large part of their settlers from across the Illinois river. Along the Illinois river the Kentuckians were numerous save in the cities, but as the line of settlement moved farther and farther up the river the

percentage of Kentuckians in the population decreased and that of the northern pioneers increased.[129] In the other portions of the Military Tract like conditions prevailed and as the north is approached the percentage of southerners decreases.[130]

Statistics seem to show that in the Military Tract before 1850, the southern stream had begun to lose force and when it met the stream of northern settlers in a contention for the timber lands it gave way to the more energetic northern people who took up the land. Having the faculty for adapting himself to his environments whatever they might be, the northern pioneer seemed destined to succeed in the conquest of the prairies. Far sighted, too, and believing in the feasibility of railroads, having seen them succeed in the East, he was more ready than his southern neighbor to venture away from the timber land and into the prairie.

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[129] An examination of the biographies of four hundred pioneers in Schuyler and Brown counties before 1850 shows that one hundred and forty came from the states of the Northwest Territory; one hundred and six from Kentucky and Tennessee, ninety of these being from Kentucky; sixty-six from the Middle Atlantic states; forty from the southern states, sixteen from New England and thirty from foreign lands. (*History of Schuyler and Brown counties*, 377-394.)

The biographies of 1,324 pioneers of Peoria at the same date show that four hundred and thirteen had come from the Middle Atlantic states; one hundred and sixty-five from New England; one hundred and six from the South; one hundred and fifty from the northwestern states; fify-three from Kentucky and Tennessee and four hundred and thirty-five from foreign lands. (Ballance, *Peoria*, 201.) Also see further illustration in Chapter V on the Illinois and Fox river valleys.

[130] One hundred and forty-three pioneers of Quincy before 1850 came from the following regions. Eighteen per cent. were New Englanders, twenty-eight per cent. were from the Middle Atlantic states, twelve per cent. from the South Atlantic states, fifteen per cent. from the Northwest, twelve per cent. from Kentucky and Tennessee and eleven per cent. from foreign lands. (Asbury, *Quincy*, 103-106.) In New Boston and Keithsburg in Mercer county forty-six per cent. of the pioneers whose nativities are recorded by the local historian came from the Northwest; twenty-eight per cent. from the Middle Atlantic states; eight per cent. from the South; five per cent. from New England; three per cent. from Kentucky and Tennessee and ten per cent. were foreigners. (*History of Mercer and Henderson Counties*, 92.) Monmouth, an inland town, shows practically the same results, for seventy per cent. of the biographies examined show the subjects to have come from northern states, twenty-one per cent. from southern states and nine per cent. from foreign lands. (*Past and Present of Warren County*, 203.)

CHAPTER VII

The Rock River Valley

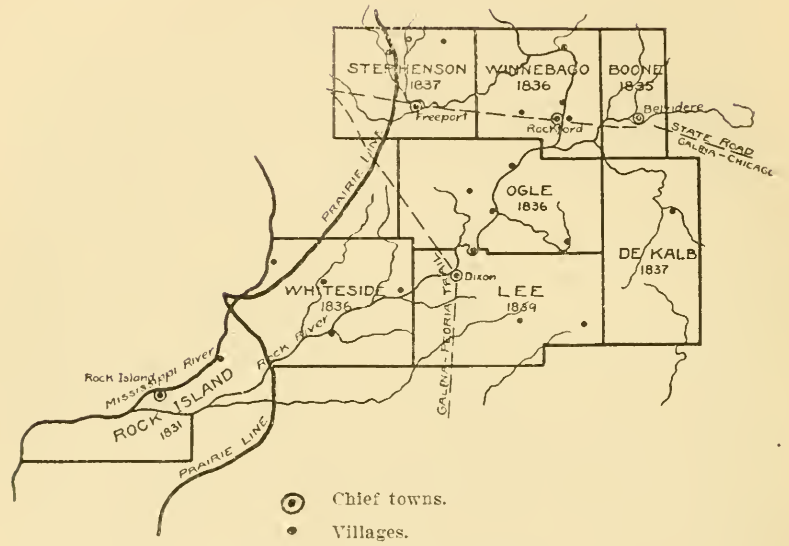
As an agricultural district the country around the Rock river can scarcely be surpassed. The surface is rolling prairie land dotted with groves and springs while along the streams are denser woodlands. The open country is exceedingly fertile and especially well adapted to the cultivation of grain. The climate is delightful and while it is one which, like other portions of our northern country, is subject to occasional marked changes in temperature, these changes have never been severe enough to cause more than slight inconveniences for the time.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that when once the pioneer settlers became acquainted with this region they flocked to it with almost incredible rapidity. In 1834 not a single county had been formed, but before 1840 eight counties had been organized and had a combined population of nearly 21,500. During the decade following, the increase was even more striking, for by 1850 the population had trebled itself, numbering at that date 66,200.[1] This rapid growth seems wonderful in view of the fact that it took place in a region practically isolated so far as facilities for communication were concerned, and also at a time when financial troubles oppressed the state as well as the rest of the country.

Slight settlement had taken place in the valley previous to 1830. In 1804 by the treaty of St. Louis the federal government acquired Rock Island in the Mississippi river from the Sac and Fox Indians.[2] Shortly after Ft. Armstrong was built

[1] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-702.

[2] Flagler, *History of the Rock Island Arsenal*, 2.



ROCK RIVER VALLEY (1850)

West of the prairie line 20 per cent. of the country is woodland. East of the line all timber is along the rivers. The years indicate date of county organization.

and when the garrison came in 1816, Col. Davenport and his family accompanied them, being for a number of years the only whites in the vicinity, save the garrison. In 1826 the beginnings of the town of Farnhamsburg, the predecessor of Rock Island, was made, Col. Davenport and Russell Farnham, partners in the Indian trade, erecting a house on the mainland.[3] For years the house was to act as post-office, hotel and court house. Two years later a few families came to live on the island but being impressed with the fertility of the mainland and owing to its protected condition they ventured upon it.[4] The little settlement grew so rapidly that when the Black Hawk War broke out four years later, it furnished fifty-eight men for the service.[5]

Some sixty miles up the river was another small settlement. On the present site of Dixon where the trail connecting Peoria and the lead region crossed the Rock river, a half-breed named Ogee, attracted by the yearly tide of immigration flowing to and from the lead mines, had established a ferry in 1826.[6] By 1829 some, tired of the ceaseless traveling to and from the mines, and impressed with the fertile land around them, had settled at the ferry. A post-office for the accommodation of the travelers had been established here and the settlers from as far up the river as Rockford came here for their mail.[7] At the last named place stood a solitary pioneer cabin.[8] Along the Galena trace in the neighborhood of Dixon were scattered other small settlements.

These were the settlements in the Rock river valley at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. They were few in number and small in size but they portrayed pioneer tendencies by their location. The pioneer wished elbow room and disliked the hampering effects of civilization but still he was reluctant to give up all connection with his fellow men. As a consequence his

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[3] *History of Rock Island County*, 118–142.
[4] Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 79.
[5] *History of Rock Island County*, 122.
[6] *History of Dixon and Lee County*, 14.
[7] *History of Lee County*, 38.
[8] *History of Dixon and Lee County*, 4.

settlements were established on the waterways in the new country, or, better still, where the much traveled wagon road crossed the waterway, as at Dixon. The pioneer liked company but not too much of it and by establishing himself in such places as have been named he was able to fulfill his desires. Whereever the wagon roads offered good connections with the neighboring settlements, there were to be found the settlers' cabins. This is especially noticeable along the Peoria-Galena trace through the valley.

In view of the facts cited, it seems proper to date the real settlement of this portion of Illinois from the Black Hawk War. Moreover, the last strip of Indian territory in the valley was ceded to the government by the Winnebago Indians in September, 1832.[9]

The year 1831 had not been one of agricultural success and this, followed by the Indian troubles of 1832, reduced the settlers of the northern country to dire straits. So far everything seems to have operated against the pioneers and the country was not yet known to any extent.

The maneuvers of the troops in the Rock river valley while in pursuit of Black Hawk gave the men some opportunity to become acquainted with its advantages. It is evident that some of the soldiers from the eastern states were wide awake to the possibilities of this region, for shortly after their return home the vanguard of the New England and Middle states pioneers began to arrive in Illinois. One of the great causes for this immigration,[10] we are informed was the stories told by the soldiers concerning the beauty of the country and the fertility of the soil.

During the next three years (to 1835) the pioneers, slowly gaining confidence owing to the settlement of the Indian troubles, again came to the Rock river valley, and, during the year immediately preceding the revulsion of 1837, settlers followed with increasing frequency. The Rock Island settlement under the shelter of Ft. Armstrong grew rapidly, developing into the

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[9] *Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology* 1896-1897, 2, 737.
[10] *Evanston Historical Society Publications*, (1902), 3.

town of Stephenson, which was the county seat of the newly organized Rock Island county.[11] In the immediate neighborhood, Fulton, at the narrows of the Mississippi was founded.[12] Clinging to the wooded banks of the Rock river, were Prophetstown, Sterling, Dixon, Oregon and Rockford, each at the time a very small settlement and having no importanee save that of being a pioneer village.

Away from the river, however, in the groves bordering the smaller tributaries were settlements equal in importance, at that time, to the better known ones; but, later outstripped in growth because of increasing advantages of their neighbors, they are today deemed insignificant. Still in this study of settlement such places as Squaw Grove, Paw Paw Grove and Buffalo Grove have significance for the names call attention to the fact that in the early days of the conquest of the prairies the pioneers first sought the timber as a base of operations before venturing out into the open.

Sterling, one of the largest towns in the lower Rock river valley was organized in this decade and derived its name from a peculiar incident. Chatham and Harrisburg, rival pioneer towns situated opposite each other on the Rock river, struggled through three years for leadership in the newly organized county of Whiteside, each desiring the honor of being the county town. Each attempt upon the part of either contestant to gain preeedenee failed until finally the right to the county seat was decided by tossing a coin. The towns were united and the name Sterling was given to the new town.[13]

The northern part of the district did not, during the early years, make as much headway in settlement as did that part already mentioned. The most important center of population in Boone county had but twenty-three voters[14] in 1836. Its importance was due to the efforts of a stock company which endeavored to take advantage of the waterpower of the Kish-

[11] Organized in 1835.

[12] *History of Whiteside County*, 157.

[13] Whiteside county was organized in 1836.

[14] *Past and Present of Boone County*, 231.

waukee river where it was crossed by the state road from Galena to Chicago.[15]

Rockford, which was also, from its situation on the Rock river where the state road crossed it, in an advantageous position, began its growth in 1835 and 1836. At the end of the latter year frame houses had begun to supplant the rougher log cabins of the previous years. Its greatest rival was Winnebago which for a time bid fair to become the most important towns of the county but upon its defeat for the honor of being the county seat a decline set in from which it never recovered.

In 1834, Congress made the Polish grant in Winnebago county.[16] After the Polish insurrection of 1830 and 1831 numbers had been forced into exile, many coming to America. Those who came to this country sent a committee to Congress petitioning it for a grant of land. Congress replied by granting them thirty-six sections to be selected from the lands of Illinois and Michigan, laying but one restriction upon the choice, that those making the choice must select three townships adjoining each other. When the selection was finally made by the Polish delegate, Count Chlopiski, a year later, he selected the townships on which Rockford and Rockton stand, thereby both violating the terms of the grant and causing consternation among the settlers who hoped in due time to obtain lawful possession of the land upon which they had settled. Nothing, however, came of the Polish grant, for these people settled in another part of the country, and caused the Rock river settlers no more trouble than that of keeping them from establishing clear titles to their lands, for Congress, anticipating that the Poles would eventually take up their residence upon the selected tracts, did not put this land on the market until 1843.[17]

During the years 1835 and 1836 many settlers came to Stephenson county, especially in the latter year. While many of these were miners from the lead region, some were from the eastern states and a considerable number from the southern part

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[15] *Ibid.*, 280.

[16] *Senate Debates, 23 Congress, 1 Sess.*, 1724.

[17] Church, *History of Rockford*, 210. The Poles settled in Texas. (*Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, Sept. 24, 1836.

of Illinois. This last class had, like many others, been impressed with the fertility of the country when they had passed through it in pursuit of Black Hawk and were now coming to take advantage of the opportunities it offered.[18] The Winnebago Indians, who, up to this time had by their presence in this part of the state retarded settlement to a great degree, now withdrew across the Mississippi and by their withdrawal made the settlers in the district breathe easier, for the remembrance of the Sac and Fox disturbances was still fresh in the minds of the pioneers. The most important settlement was at Freeport, where an Indian trading post was established upon the Pecatonica river in 1835. Over fifty families congregated at this point during the following year.[19]

Such was the Rock river valley in 1837 when, owing to the failure of so many speculative schemes, the financial depression came and with it a new era in the settlement of the state. In the period just discussed only beginnings were made; some villages of respectable size had sprung up and hundreds of families were scattered here and there at the most attractive points.

This early period of settlement in the valley may be taken as typical of the progress of settlement into a new country. The river served as the highway of communication with the outer world; the two great roads through the valley, the one crossing the river at Dixon, the other at Rockford, also played their part. The map will show the location of the principal towns where the intersection of these highways took place. Rockford, Freeport and Dixon, with Rock Island at the mouth of the valley. Gradually the filling-in process took place and numerous smaller towns dotted the banks of the river. Along the two great wagon roads, settlements were also found but these were not to develop even into villages until the railroads came. Back from the main stream along the tributaries were still other settlements. Could we be allowed to view the valley as a whole the scene would be one of a line of cabins following the

[18] Johnston, *Sketches of Stephenson County*, 55.
[19] *History of Stephenson County*, 238.

timber lands, along the streams, and leaving the great prairies as yet untouched.

The towns, so far, had shown no signs of becoming cities and they were not to make rapid strides for another decade. The reason seems simple. Lines of transportation were not developed save a poor one in the Rock river. Lack of transportation facilities caused a lack of markets and since good markets help in the development of an agricultural district and are dependent upon this development for support, it seems that the problem of transportation was the key to the situation and in the interacting influences of agriculture and steam was to be found the solution of the prairie problem. When transportation was assured, development was rapid but it was not to take place for several years to come because of the period of financial embarrassment experienced by the state from 1837 to 1843.

This second stage of growth (1837–1843) was not one of rapid development. It is true that settlers still came, but not in large numbers; timber claims were still in demand but in a less marked degree than formerly. Rock Island and Dixon increased a little as did the smaller settlements of the lower Rock river valley. A local historian notes the arrival of a colony of wealthy New Yorkers near Dixon in 1838[20] but it seems scarcely probable that men of much property would care to exchange their homes for the privations of the frontier.

In the closing years of the decade, 1831 to 1840, Ogle county grew little, but in the early forties settlers came more frequently. Money was scarce; times were hard; few markets for farm produce presented themselves; the merchants refused to pay cash for products, all of which served to make the lot of the pioneers a harder one. Those already in the country, believing in the ultimate adjustment of conditions on a more favorable basis, were willing to endure the hardships for the sake of future possibilities and remained. A few others came. Grand Detour, Oregon, Mt. Morris, Buffalo Grove, Rochelle and Byron were the most important centers of settlement.

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[20] *History of Dixon and Lee County*, 7.

Grand Detour, so-called from its situation in the great bend of the Rock River, grew from a small village of a store and two dwellings in 1837[21] to one of considerable size in 1842.[22] Its growth is typical of the development of the early towns. Some advantages of transportation facilities were enjoyed and the surrounding agricultural country looked here for a market. Manufactures developed to an extent owing to high prices of transportation and it seemed the object of the community to be as nearly as possible self-sufficing.

DeKalb county in 1840 had the least number of inhabitants of any of the Rock river valley counties. This may be attributed to its location which was midway between the line of settlement along the Fox river and that along the Rock. No river of size penetrated the county and consequently there was no easy opening allowed for the settlers. There were, however, some settlements in the vicinity of the groves. Sycamore, which today is one of the important towns, was in 1840 "a dreary little village" of a dozen houses.[23]

Rockford was the chief town of Winnebago county and before 1842 had become one of respectable size. In 1838 East Rockford and West Rockford were two settlements apart from each other. West Rockford had eighteen buildings; while the settlement across the river was slightly larger.[24] Similarity of interests caused them to combine in 1839, when, together, they were incorporated as the city of Rockford. At that time the population amounted to two hundred and thirty-five.[25] From this time in spite of the general depression throughout the state, Rockford enjoyed a rapid growth. Chosen as the seat of government for Winnebago county in 1839, its importance increased and by 1841 it had come to be the most popu-

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[21] *Sketches of Ogle County*, 69.

[22] *Rock River Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1842, says the town had a good hotel; two stores, one of which did $30,000 worth of business in a single year; a broom factory; a cigar factory; a flour mill with a capacity of 6,000 to 8,000 barrels a year; a printing press; and a saw mill. There was also a plow factory with a daily capacity of fifty plows.

[23] *History of DeKalb County*, 386.

[24] Church, *History of Rockford*, 134.

[25] *Ibid.*, 148.

lous town along the Rock river, having eight hundred inhabitants.[26]

Although Winnebago was the most populous county in this portion of the state in 1840, settlement was carried on under adverse conditions especially during the later thirties. Prices were exceedingly high and money was scarce and those pioneers who as yet were unable to raise products varied enough to satisfy all their wants met with many hardships.[27]

With money scarce as it was during this time it may well be imagined what small chance the pioneer had to purchase the necessities of life in such a country. One man ventured to say that there were not twenty farmers in the entire county in 1841 and 1842 who had a suit of clothes suitable to wear to church or to court, which they had purchased with the fruits of their labor on their farms. The truth of the situation was that those who had an abundance of products were unable to sell because none were in a position to buy, owing to lack of funds. It was indeed a time of discouragement and some men past the prime of life, tired of battling with the hardships of the new country, returned to their old homes in the East.[28] Such people, it is certain, would by their stories of frontier trials and privations actively oppose the movement of any of their friends to the West. Here we find one of the causes which operated against the settlement of the state even as late as 1845.

To a certain degree, Stephenson county seems also to have been an exception to the rule of slow settlement during the years immediately following 1837. In that year there were four or five hundred[29] settlers in the timber and in 1840 there were 2,800.[30] New England contributed most of the pioneers during this period although numbers of "Pennsylvania Dutch," Norwegians and English came also. The chief colony of Nor-

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[26] *Chicago Weekly American*, Jan. 22, 1841. The town had two newspapers at this date. (Church, *History of Rockford*, 215, 300.)

[27] Church, *History of Rockford*, 131, quotes the following prices:—Flour, sixteen to thirty-two dollars a barrel; pork, thirty dollars a barrel; wheat, from three to four dollars a bushel; and sugar, twenty-five cents a pound.

[28] *Ibid.*, 131.

[29] *Illinois in 1837*, 100: *History of Stephenson County*, 257.

[30] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

wegians came from Nummedal and Thelemark in 1839 and settled at Rock Run. There were one hundred and fifty in the colony.[31] In 1842 a colony of English peasants from Devonshire and Sussex settled in Ridott township.[32]

Freeport developed as rapidly as did the rest of the county. A few houses were erected in 1837, but owing to the high price of lumber they were small ones.[33] All supplies were carted overland from Galena, a distance of more than fifty miles, and as a consequence prices were high and Freeport felt keenly the lack of transportation facilities. However, the town soon began to bear evidence of possibilities in the future and when in 1840 its population numbered almost five hundred it began to ape the manners of a city.[34] It appears to have been a frontier town of none too good a type. "Saloons were maintained and gambling indulged in without limit. John Barleycorn reigned in those days more generally in proportion to the number of inhabitants than he does now, while the Tiger of Pharaoh was a beast that roamed about freely."[35]

Before passing from the discussion of this period it is necessary to mention an impediment to immigration to this country, which exercised more weight in the locality than financial troubles or the want of transportation facilities. The settlers, as we have noticed, were of all nations and from all portions of the United States, so it is not to be wondered at that there was infesting the Rock river country, a liberal share of counterfeiters, thieves and murderers. To a greater or less extent this class is always found on the outskirts of civilization and the Rock river valley was particularly unfortunate in being the rendezvous of such a band. These "Prairie Pirates" as they were called numbered about three hundred men who made it a business to buy moveable property and pay for it in counterfeit money, to steal horses and rob the cabins of the pioneers.[36] The law seemed powerless against these desperadoes, for often

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[31] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 1, 132.
[32] *History of Stephenson County*, 268.
[33] Johnston, *Sketches of Stephenson County*, 91, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 93.
[35] *History of Stephenson County*, 264.
[36] *The New Yorker*, May 30, 1840.

members of the band were filling local offices and shielded their companions. Lynch law alone restored order to the troubled district when two of the "Pirates" were hanged.[37] Over one hundred men sat upon the jury which convicted them and later proceedings were brought against these jurymen. They were indicted for murder, tried but acquitted. The decisive action of the pioneers effectually stopped the raids and settlers were more secure thereafter in their lives and the possession of their property.

Other conditions unfavorable to the rapid settling of the country also prevailed in this period. Markets were scarce. The Rock river man was compelled to cart his produce to Galena or Savanna, on the Mississippi river, or to Chicago if he had a great quantity to sell. The expense of transportation taken in connection with the value of his time left little or no reward for the farmer who journeyed to market. To Galena was a trip of a week or more; to Chicago, anywhere from fourteen to twenty days, and after arriving, his wheat was worth but forty or fifty cents a bushel.[38]

Moreover, the pioneer had trouble over his claims. Speculators, always on the lookout for improved farms, not held by good titles, were prone to snap up all such pieces until the Claims Associations were formed and by might secured to every settler his claim against "land-sharks" or "claim-jumpers." After the land sales of 1842 and 1843 these associations, no longer needed in this part of Illinois, gradually fell to pieces.

In spite of these drawbacks there was a Rock river emigration fever prevalent in many parts of the country, and settlers poured in and scattered themselves along the timbered portions until in 1840 the population of the valley had reached 21,500.[39]

After 1843 the country filled up with amazing rapidity and in 1850 had in it over 66,000 settlers.[40] No longer did the small colonies attract the attention of local historians and our information concerning the development of this part of Illinois must

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[37] *History of Ogle County*, 356.
[38] *History of Rock Island County*, 225.
[39] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.
[40] *Ibid.*, 701, 702.

be derived from such things as are deemed of importance by those writers. From the growth of the cities also we are able indirectly to form some conclusion concerning the growth of the agricultural class, for wherever a prosperous agricultural community was formed, a town of some importance was close by, since the latter must look to the former for support.

This great increase may be attributed to several causes. The Rock river country was known as a place of extraordinary facilities for agriculture. Those coming during the period previous to 1843 had sent extremely favorable reports to the East and naturally others followed the lead of the pioneers. The financial revulsion was over and money became more plentiful. Those people who had property in the East and wished to move west could now find purchasers and were set at liberty. During this period Illinois began to regain her good name, lost with the breaking down of her internal improvement scheme, and her half notion of repudiation of her debts. Heavy taxes, too, had kept many away, but with the re-establishment of her finances upon a firm and honorable basis it seems that immigration began anew. Finally the railroad through from Chicago to Galena was, before the close of the decade, an assured fact. Many flocked to the neighborhood of its line seeing its value as a market maker.

From 1843 to 1850 is a period of rapid growth, but chiefly in the agricultural districts. For example, the river towns of Whiteside county show very little growth, while those settlements farther inland show a rapid increase. The reason is evident. This portion of the county had been settled at the earliest date and all the available land had been taken up, consequently the new comers moved further up the small streams toward the interior. In Lee county the number of small settlements increased in numbers and in size while Dixon had nearly eight hundred inhabitants by 1851.[41] Property valuation had increased as had the amount of agricultural products.[42]

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[41] *History of Lee County*, 105.

[42] Real estate was valued at $215,000; personal property at $168,000, and 430,000 bushels of small grain were produced each year (*Seventh Census* (1850), 730-2). There were also twelve corporations producing $60,000 worth of articles each year (*History of Lee County*, 74).

In the counties of Ogle, DeKalb and Boone there was little growth in population. Lack of ready money and of markets as well as disputes over land claims operated against the growth of settlement. Moreover when the news of the discovery of gold in California reached Illinois a number of the farmers left, preferring to try their fortune in the far West rather than to struggle against the difficulties at home.[43] The population of these counties was chiefly of the agricultural class although Sycamore, DeKalb and Belvidere were settlements of some importance, the last having a population of about one thousand.[44] After 1845 the increase is more marked.

An examination of the sources of population in the counties treated so far shows a decided predominance of immigrants from the northern states and a very few from the southern states.[45]

In the other northern counties of the valley the increase of settlement was more rapid. Winnebago county was in 1850, as in 1840, the most populous county of the district, having nearly 12,000 inhabitants.[46] Remembering the unfavorable conditions prevailing in the county during the early forties, this increase of settlement which must necessarily have come during the last five or six years of the decade, is remarkable. As the railroad across the northern part of the state was to pass through the most thriving town in the county, a market and an outlet for produce was thereby assured. The outlaw gang had been driven from the country, the financial difficulties were removed and settlements having sprung up all over the county, it was no longer a frontier. In these things, we are able to see the causes of the thriving condition of the new country scarcely two decades old.

In character the settlers did not differ from those in the other

[43] Boies, *History of DeKalb County*, 404.

[44] *Seventh Census* (1850), 703.

[45] An examination of the biographies of two hundred and seventy-seven early settlers of Whiteside county shows that two hundred and seven came from New England and the Middle Atlantic states and but nine from the southern states (*History of Whiteside County*, 77). Of three hundred and twenty-nine in Lee county, two hundred and nineteen were northern men; many were foreigners and a few southerners (*History of Lee County*, 177).

[46] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

counties of the valley. New Yorkers and New Englanders greatly outnumbered the settlers from other places, if Rockford and Rockton may be taken as examples.[47] Foreigners were also present.[48]

Rockford was the metropolis of the northern prairies and enjoyed the most rapid and steady growth of any of the towns along the Rock river.[49] From a few scattered houses in 1838 it had grown to a town of 1,500 houses in 1850.[50] Business was thriving and numerous stores were supported by the people of the surrounding country because this was the only supply depot between Chicago and Galena. The appearance of the town was not prepossessing. State street, the business street, was "a crooked line of low wooden shops and stores,"[51] although there were some respectable brick stores in the town.[52] A low wooden bridge separated rather than united the towns which were even yet rival encampments instead of parts of the same town. The inhabitants of one town very seldom ventured across to the opposite side of the river save on business and the adventurers generally came home as quickly as possible. The rivalry did not cease until the railroad came and put its depot on the west side, which in the minds of the townsmen balanced the prestige enjoyed by the east side in the possession of the post-office.

Travelers seem to have been favorably impressed with Rockford at this date. A correspondent for a New York paper praises its location and says, "A better place for investments in

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[47] The early homes of eight hundred and seventy-one of Rockford's settlers are known. Four hundred and seventy came from New York, two hundred and thirty-seven from New England and one hundred and sixty-two from other places in Illinois. (Church, *History of Rockford*, 281.)

One hundred and two of the early settlers of Rockton are known. Fifty-eight were New Englanders; twenty-three from the Middle states; eighteen, foreigners and the rest from various places. (Carr, *History of Rockton*, 16.)

[48] A colony of Scotch were at Willow Creek (*History of Winnebago County*, 454).

[49] Population of Rockford is given as follows; in 1839, 235 (Church, *History of Rockford*, 148); in 1841, 800 (*Chicago Weekly American*, Jan. 22, 1841); in 1845, 1278 (Church, *History of Rockford*, 281); in 1850, 2093 (*Seventh Census* (1850), 717).

[50] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 30, 1848.

[51] Goodwin, *Commemorative Discourse* (Rockford, Aug. 14, 1870).

[52] Church, *History of Rockford*, 233.

milling, manufacturing, etc., I did not see in the western states.''[53] Still another speaks of it as, ''one of the most beautiful and prosperous villages on Rock River'' doing a large, active business and containing ''many fine buildings and mills.''[54]

The farmers of the adjoining county were rapidly acquiring wealth and on the whole were abundantly satisfied with their circumstances. They possessed live stock valued at almost $270,000 in 1850, and during the preceding year had produced 786,000 bushels of small grain,[55] a remarkable development when one stops to think that fifteen years before there were no farms under cultivation in Winnebago county.

Stephenson county more than kept pace with Winnebago during the decade, receiving about 1,700 more settlers than did the latter county and reaching a total population of 11,666.[56] In spite of the statements made by the local historians concerning the slowness of settlement during the decade 1841–1850, it is a fact that this county increased more rapidly than did any other county of the valley.

Immigrants from the Middle States and particularly from Pennsylvania formed the greatest part of the early pioneers of Stephenson county. The Pennsylvanians were Germans who proved themselves to be a substantial, industrious and thrifty class of settlers. A typical ''Pennsylvania Dutch'' colony came in 1843 and is described by one of the Pennsylvania papers in the following manner.[57] ''On Wednesday May 31, a company of about sixty emigrants passed through this place on their way . . . to Stephenson county, Illinois. They had fourteen wagons, each drawn by an elegant span of horses. . . . They were all from one neighborhood, had plenty of cash and appeared in fine spirits.''

The foreign population of the county constantly increased

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[53] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1848.

[54] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 283.

[55] *Seventh Census* (1850), 730, 732.

[56] *Ibid.*, 702.

[57] *Clarion (Pa.), Register* (Extract copied from this paper by *The Northwestern Gazette* and *Galena Advertiser*, July 7, 1843).

and congregated in and around Freeport. This place had in 1850 a population of 1,436,[58] one fourth of which were foreigners, mostly Germans.[59]

As Rockford was the center of the agricultural district of Winnebago county, so was Freeport of Stephenson county. It was situated on the Galena–Chicago state road along which the proposed railroad was to be built. Its growth was as yet retarded by the fact that supplies were carried from Galena to stock its stores, but the energy and hopefulness of the settlers helped to build it up and give it a prominence in the district which was to be increased when steam traffic was finally a reality. Scattered along the line of the proposed railroad were small settlements patiently awaiting the time when they, too, by the aid of steam, would become markets for agricultural produce and derive benefit from the products of the country.

To the north and south of the railroad line, wherever a patch of timber gave shelter from the heat of summer and the cold winds of winter, there could be found a settler's cabin and before the end of the period every available bit of timber had been claimed. The farmers owned $326,000 worth of live stock, and produced 759,000 bushels of small grain in 1850.[60] The prairies were, however, still unsubdued if we may judge from the amount of unimproved land at this date, there being 123,300 acres not yet under cultivation and only 76,300 cultivated.[61] Low prices alone worked to destroy the prosperity of the farmer and when not long afterwards a remedy was applied the advance made by the district was a rapid one. For a time the effect of the gold excitement was noticeable, for between one and two hundred settlers left Stephenson county for the West.[62]

In the discussion of the settlement of the Rock river valley there are really but two periods; the first extending to about 1843 when the revival from financial troubles took place; the second extending to the coming of the railroads. The first is one of beginnings in which settlement was retarded by both in-

[58] *Seventh Census* (1850), 715.
[59] Johnston, *Sketches of Stephenson County*, 79.
[60] *Seventh Census* (1850), 730, 732.
[61] Johnston, *Sketches of Stephenson County*, 71.
[62] *History of Stephenson County*, 283.

ternal and external influences. Speculators had caused a period of 'boom' which collapsed with the weakening of the financial system. Troubles over land claims, lack of markets, the presence of the "Prairie Pirates" and poor communication with the outside world all tended to make this earlier period one of uncertainty among the settlers.

The later period is the one in which the true growth began. Finances were again comparatively sound, the people were becoming acquainted with their prairie environments and most of all the coming of the railroad was to give them markets. Fully appreciating the advantages of the country, and fully realizing that in order to take advantage of the opening opportunities they would necessarily have to be on the scene at an early date, settlers flocked there in thousands, coming to the northern counties in the greatest numbers.[63] Likewise in the northern counties were located the chief towns, Freeport, Rockford and Belvidere. In the southern part of the valley Dixon and Rock Island alone had reached the dimensions of towns.

A glance at the census figures will show the northern counties to be developing more rapidly than their southern neighbors. The explanation of this lies in the influence which lines of communication have upon the growth and character of new settlements. Stage roads lead from Chicago westward across the state in various ways to the Mississippi river towns. Chief of these was Galena. The road leading to Galena passed to the northward from Chicago through Belvidere, Rockford and Freeport. Emigrants arriving in Chicago from the East by way of the lakes and bound for the Rock river valley seemed inclined to select this road to their destination. As an example, Belvidere, according to the local historian, owed its development to the fact that it was situated on this road. Moreover, the railroad was surveyed through these counties and the farmers knew that the value of their produce, to a

[63] Whiteside and Lee counties had a combined population of 17,590 in 1850, a gain of 10,400 in the decade; DeKalb and Boone had about 15,000, having gained 11,760 while Winnebago and Stephenson had 33,500 inhabitants which was a gain of almost 23,600 for the decade (*Seventh Census* (1850), 701-2).

great extent, depended upon the expense incurred in getting it to market, so they got as close as possible to the new line of transportation.

New Englanders and New Yorkers were by far the most numerous elements in the population. "Pennsylvania Dutch," Germans, Norwegians, and English, Irish and Canadians were generally grouped in settlements by themselves, but they formed a considerable part of the population of some districts, especially in Freeport and the northern portions of Stephenson county.

As a result of this influence of New England and the northern states, schools and churches rapidly sprang into existence, for it was evident that wherever half a dozen families were grouped there must be a school and there must be divine services if these people were to be contented with their lot in the western country. If we could follow their development farther it would be seen that but few years indeed elapsed between the log church and school house and those of more pleasing and imposing appearance.

However, it must be said that the true development of the Rock river valley was just beginning; vast stretches of prairie land still were lying unoccupied and the work of the railroads was yet to be done. The foundations had been laid during the period previous to 1850 but the social and industrial development of the region was to be the task of those who were to come later, and who by the aid of transportation facilities and improved farm machinery were to leave the woodlands for the open prairies.

CHAPTER VIII

Eastern Illinois

Eastern Illinois is truly the prairie district of the state; and in this district settlement developed slowly, but five counties having been organized previous to 1830.[1] The period from 1830 to 1850 was one of beginnings in this part of Illinois. From the first appearance of American settlers until the railway had developed into a probability, the settlements were sparse, for here, too, the prejudice of the pioneers against the prairies displayed itself. Few indeed were the settlers who ventured away from the sheltering timber along the rivers and in nearly every case the early settlements are to be found on the edge of the timber lands. Exceptions, of course, there were but they were few. Along the most-traveled roads leading from the Wabash river settlements to those along the Illinois river or to Chicago, an occasional pioneer more venturesome than the rest built his little cabin, but even in such cases he was careful to select some spot where timber was close.

Local historians of eastern Illinois are agreed on the point that the scarcity of settlement in that district prior to 1850 was due entirely to the inaccessibleness of the country. Mr. Beckwith in his *History of Vermilion County* says there was no settlement on the prairie until 1849 when a rush of immigration came in, in anticipation of the passage of Douglas's Illinois

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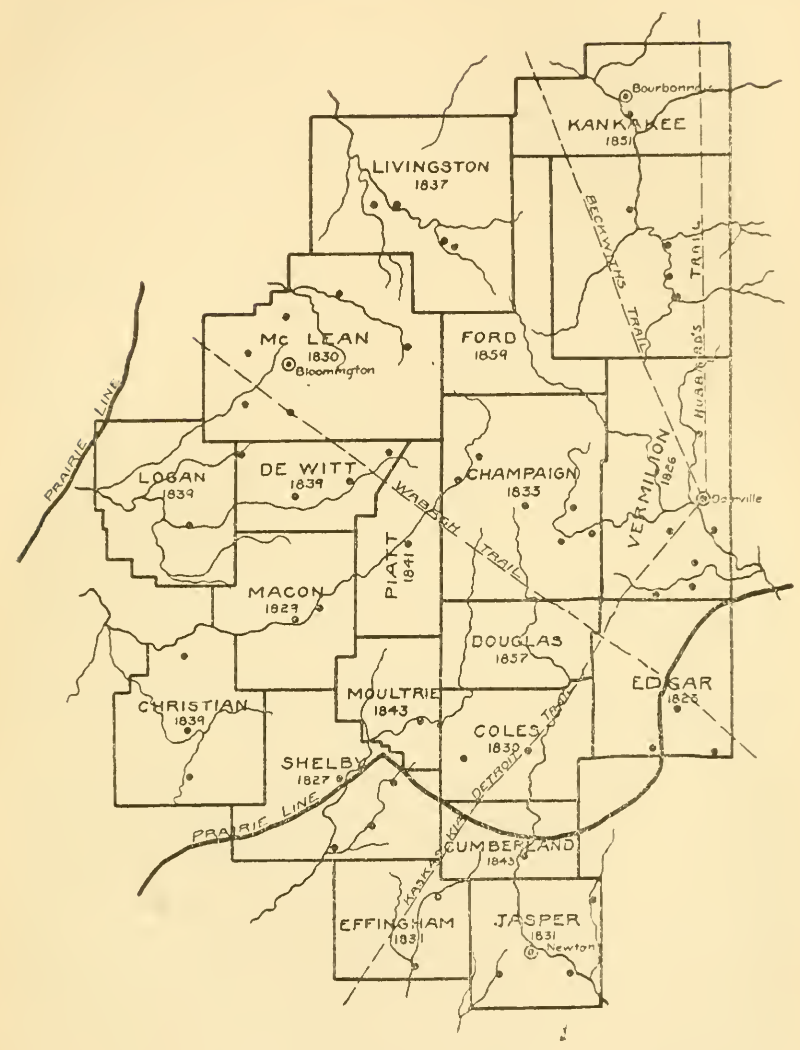
[1] The counties discussed under the head "Eastern Illinois" are Jasper, Effingham, Cumberland, Coles, Shelby, Moultrie, Douglas, Edgar, Vermilion, Champaign, Platt, Macon, Logan, DeWitt, McLean, Livingston, Ford, Iroquois and Kankakee. Of these Vermilion, Edgar, Shelby, Macon, and McLean were organized before 1831.



⊙ Towns of over 1,000 inhabitants.

• Towns of less than 1,000.

Eastern Illinois (1850)

North and east of the curved line is the prairie; less than 20 per cent. woodland. Year indicates date of county organization.

Central Railroad bill, the discussion of which in Congress had attracted much attention to the prairie lands of the state.[2]

The combined population of the five counties organized at the opening of the period (1830) was less than 14,500 and two-thirds of this number were within the limits of Vermilion and Edgar counties on the Wabash river.[3] Before the organization of the state Edgar county had received settlers and during the closing years of the decade 1821–1830 immigrants had poured into this portion of the state in increased numbers, distributing themselves along the rivers. Generally speaking, these early pioneers were from Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and the Carolinas. Directly to the north lay Vermilion county. Here the population was grouped in the timber lands along the Vermilion river and its tributaries in the southeastern part of the county. Danville, the chief town, situated on the Vermilion river which, at that time, was navigable for steamboats during a great part of the year, had a population of three hundred and fifty and was the most important settlement in this part of the state.[4] Coal mining which later was to become the great industry around the settlement had begun, but only on a small scale for the settlers did not comprehend the value of the coal fields and instead of claiming great portions were content to dig only what they needed for immediate use.[5]

While the early years of the decade 1831–1840 were prosperous years for central Illinois the spread of population was not rapid in either of the Wabash river counties although they both increased considerably in numbers of settlers.[6] A filling-in process was going on here instead of an extension of the frontier line and the timbered banks of the numerous branches of the Wabash which crossed this part of the state were being taken up. Timber seemed plentiful and as yet there was no necessity for

[2] Beckwith, *History of Vermilion County*, 801.

[3] Vermilion and Edgar counties had 5,800 and 4,100 settlers respectively; Shelby county had 3,000; Macon county 1,100; and McLean county had less than one hundred families. *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.

[4] Danville had six stores, four saw mills, two grist mills, a post-office, a court-house and a land office. *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 456.

[5] Beckwith, *History of Vermilion County*, 847.

[6] Some 7,500 settlers were added to the population of the two counties during the decade. *Seventh Census* (1850), 701, 702.

the pioneer to move out into the prairies. Condensation, however, was aided by another influence, for early in the thirties the Indian troubles in the north frightened many of the settlers of the upper Illinois river counties back to the stronger settlements in the south. Here and there in the small groves of northern Vermilion county and along the Hubbard trace leading to Chicago were small settlements which were broken up at the first alarm, the settlers moving to safer places and it was some time before they dared to return to their former abodes.

From 1841 to 1850 new forces were at work, tending to attract settlement to other parts of the state rather than to the Wabash river counties. Little timber land was left on the eastern side of the state and the ordinary immigrant could not afford to pay fancy prices to be allowed to remain in the older settled regions. The prairies alone were left in Vermilion and Edgar counties and since practically nothing was known concerning pioneer life on these enormous tracts of unsheltered country the pioneer feared to settle on them, thus being practically compelled to pass on by the eastern line of settlement and head for the timber line of the Illinois and Sangamon rivers or northward to the Iroquois and Kankakee. Favorable reports, too, came from the interior of the state concerning fertile land, fine timber and good water.

Later in the decade the Douglas Illinois Central Railroad bill drew much attention to that portion of the state west from Vermilion and Edgar and when the rush of settlers came during the closing years of the decade this influence also operated to the detriment of these counties for the railroad was too far to the west to come in contact in any way with the Wabash river settlements.

Besides, across the prairie in the neighborhood of the Sangamon river, settlements occurred often enough to remove the more evident frontier characteristics, but not so often as to leave no desirable land for newcomers. In short, central Illinois along the western skirts of the great prairie offered more advantages to the pioneer at a less expense than did the older Wabash settlements and naturally he went there.

Danville was in 1850, the most important town in this part of

the state but it was not a city. In other parts of the state Quincy, Galena and Chicago had grown to be cities at this date because of developed resources and because of favorable locations, but Danville not being a market of consequence, or the key to a great transportation line, was dependent upon an undeveloped resource—coal. When mining was begun on a large scale, Danville became a population center of sufficient importance to be called a city.

The other settlements of importance in these counties were Paris, Georgetown, Grand View. Embarras and Butler's Point.[7] Paris was the chief town of Edgar county and Georgetown in Vermilion county, being the seat of a seminary which for quite a time was an educational center of importance, was a settlement of considerable size in 1850.[8] The population of the two counties amounted to over 22,100 souls.[9]

As the pioneers approached the heart of the great prairie, the headwaters of those streams flowing into the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi rivers were reached. These tributaries being small, unnavigable streams, offered little communication with the rest of the state and it was with slow and somewhat uncertain steps that the settlers ventured from southern Illinois, or the Sangamon country, to take possession of the timber lands in the prairie. The scanty settlements in this part of the state in 1830 show how slowly the acquisition of territory was going on.

Effingham county had but fifty families in 1830,[10] all collected in five communities in the timber near the Embarras river; St. Marie and Newton settlements near the same stream were the settlements of greatest note in Jasper county. The scanty population of Cumberland county must be attributed to the wet, swampy character of the soil, which made it poorly adapted for farming land. A settlement of Kentuckians and Tennesseeans on Bear Creek was the most important one in the county in 1830.[11] Coles county had sixty voters in 1831.[12] Moultrie and

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[7] *Seventh Census* (1850), 707.
[8] Beckwith, *History of Vermilion County*, 521.
[9] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-702.
[10] Perrin, *History of Effingham County*, 12.
[11] *History of Cumberland, Jasper and Richland Counties*, 112.
[12] *History of Coles County*, 244.

Douglas counties, not so many. Macon county, on the extreme eastern side of the Sangamon country, profiting by the timbered portions of the streams and by its proximity to the older established settlements of Sangamon county, had a considerable population. The Stevens and Ward settlements, situated one on either side of the Sangamon river, near the present site of Decatur, were the chief settlements.[13] The greater part of the population lay along the river near the above-mentioned villages. Decatur was a settlement having no distinction save that of having a dozen log cabins and a street filled with stumps.[14]

Although De Witt county had settlers in the early twenties, the spread of settlement progressed slowly. In 1829 Governor Reynolds addressed the voters of the county at a political meeting which was attended by all the voters for miles around. Twenty-five in all came, "a motley crew, half of them at least were bare foot, while the best dressed were in their shirt sleeves."[15] Logan, Piatt, Champaign and Ford counties had small settlements here and there but with the exception of Champaign county they remained unorganized for years.

McLean county, owing to its abundance of good timber land and the fact that it lay close to the older settlements, filled up rapidly, especially in the timbered tracts. The names Dry Grove, Twin Grove, Blooming Grove and Funk's Grove, tell plainly the story of settlement in McLean as well as in other counties of this part of Illinois. No settlers ventured away from the timber before 1849 or 1850.[16] Blooming Grove, soon to become Bloomington, was the most important settlement in the county and had twenty families in 1830.[17] Along the Vermilion in Livingston county and at Bunkum and Milford in Iroquois were gathered a few families.

In 1830 Danville, Paris, Blooming Grove and Decatur were the only settlements of any size in this part of Illinois. The rest of the population was scattered throughout the country in

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[13] *History of Macon County*, 31.
[14] *History of Edgar County*, 306.
[15] *History of DeWitt County*, 296.
[16] *History of McLean County*, 591.
[17] *Ibid.*, 306.

the timber lands, practically cut off from the rest of the state, almost destitute of markets and of those commodities generally enjoyed by older settlements.

However, a change was beginning to come about, for agricultural implements were now of as much importance as the axe and the rifle; and the pioneer began to forsake the bluffs and the bottomlands along the rivers and to adapt himself to new environments. The outside edge of the timber was found to be more convenient than the river banks, for the only chopping necessary was for the cabin since nature had made the clearings long before the coming of the pioneers. Here began a period of experimentation in which the pioneer was to get an idea of the possibilities of the great uncultivated fields all around him. For a time he felt himself powerless to take advantage of them since he had no means by which he could keep in touch with the rest of the world. Neither could he solve the problem of wood and shelter, when separated from the friendly timber.

Hard times, lack of markets close at hand, financial distress, state debts, high taxation, unfavorable reports spread by dissatisfied pioneers, which tended to keep back settlers, all made the task of the prairie man harder through this period from 1830 to 1850. The railroads had not been built yet and without their aid in solving the problem of transportation and communication it is small wonder that the pioneers from Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio whose experience had all been with the timber lands, advanced with caution and even timidity to the task which lay before them.

Turning now to the southern counties of the prairie region, the growth of settlement shows that the pioneers of Jasper county came principally from Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana with some from the eastern and southern states. They were "squatters" who had been obliged by circumstances to leave the more thickly populated districts and begin life again in a new country.[18] By 1834 there were enough people to warrant the formation of a new county, but the number must have been small, since at the first few courts held, the services of nearly

[18] *History of Cumberland, Jasper and Richland Counties*, 382-383.

all the male inhabitants in the county were required to conduct the court proceedings.[19] Land was taken up slowly. In 1836 there were possibly ten pieces of deeded land in the county and conditions remained so until about 1845.[20] Newton, the chief village, in 1835 consisted of but four or five families and while it had no public buildings, the village was fortunate in having a sawmill, an institution highly prized by our pioneer ancestors.[21] The mail came once a week when the water was not too high.

In 1837 an important addition was made to the population of the county. For years there had been, in some parts of France, a desire among the peasantry to attempt the planting of a colony in America. The Picquet families, all well-to-do people, being attracted by the plan, sent one of their number to America to select and purchase a place suitable for the establishment of a colony. After traveling quite extensively through the states of the middle West the agent selected a site in Jasper county and returned to France in 1836 to make his report. In the following year a colony of twenty-five people arrived from France, purchased 12,000 acres of land and settled at St. Marie, calling their settlement the *Colonie des Frêres*.[22] In 1840 the settlers in the county did not number 1,500 in all. The chief settlements were Newton and St. Marie.[23]

After 1845 the lands began to be taken up more rapidly and new settlers were not so scarce. In the closing years of the decade, when the hard times were over and Illinois had voted against repudiation and when the railroad seemed more than a mere possibility, settlements increased in number. The population of the county numbered in 1850 more than 3,200 souls and Newton, the chief center of population, had with its surrounding farms a population of more than 1,100. The Crooked Creek, North Fork and St. Marie settlements had between four and seven hundred settlers each.[24]

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[19] *Ibid.*, 389.
[20] *Ibid.*, 388.
[21] *Ibid.*, 481.
[22] *Ibid.*, 484.
[23] *Seventh Census* (1850), 709.
[24] *Ibid.*, 709.

Cumberland county, directly north of Jasper, was settled to some extent by 1830, but was not organized until 1843, since the development, like that of Jasper, was slow during these years. Like Jasper, too, the greater part of the county was not in the hands of actual settlers until about 1860.[25]

The beginning of work on the National Road through this county in 1832 gave an impetus to immigration and attracted not a few settlers to its immediate vicinity, most of whom came from New York and Ohio.[26] Greenup, located on the Embarras river where it was crossed by the Old National Road, was the most desirable place for settlement, and by 1840 it was a thriving village with mills and business advantages superior to any other settlement for miles around.[27] In 1850 its population numbered more than nine hundred.[28]

Outside of Greenup, the county filled up slowly and before 1850 settlement was at a standstill. Cholera visited this part of Illinois during the forties and added to the difficulties besetting the pioneers and when the news of the discovery of gold in California came, quite a number of the settlers left.[29]

Although there were no public buildings in Cumberland county for several years, owing to the inability of the inhabitants to decide upon a county town,[30] it was very well supplied with school-houses. One church, built of logs, was the only house of worship in 1840.[31]

Immediately after the close of our period, a time of prosperity began, for the land warrants issued by the United States government to the soldiers of the Mexican War were converted into holdings by the soldiers themselves, or had passed into the hands of others desiring land and in the years following 1850 nearly every acre in the county was taken up.[32] The population of the county in this year was a few more than 3,700.[33].

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[25] *History of Cumberland, Jasper and Richland Counties*, 105.
[26] *Ibid.*, 113–114.
[27] *Ibid.*, 123.
[28] *Seventh Census* (1850), 706.
[29] *History of Cumberland, Jasper and Richland Counties*, 114.
[30] *Ibid.*, 136.
[31] *Ibid.*, 172.
[32] *Ibid.*, 114.
[33] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

In 1831 Effingham county was organized and during the early part of the decade increased in population quite rapidly, especially along the National Road which crossed the county. A census taken in 1835 credits Effingham county with about 1,000 settlers and two hundred acres of improved farm lands.[34] Soon after, owing to the arrival of the German colony which settled at Teutopolis, the land market was active and a considerable amount of land was taken up.

In 1837 Teutopolis was located and at once became a settlement of importance and the nucleus of the foreign population of the county. A company of Germans, one hundred and forty in number, was formed in Cincinnati for the purpose of founding a settlement in some western state. The subscribers were to pay ten dollars a month until a sum of $16,000 had been raised. In the meantime an investigating and exploring committee was appointed to select a suitable place for a town. This committee, after tramping through a considerable part of Indiana and Illinois, decided upon Effingham county as the most desirable location, and reported it to the company as such. The company bought 10,000 acres of land and laid out a town whose main street was the National Road.

In 1838 the settlers began to arrive, some coming directly from Germany and others from the German settlements around Cincinnati. Those from the latter place came by water to St. Louis and then by wagons to Teutopolis, a distance of one hundred miles.[35] In all there were ninety families.[36] From time to time other families came and settled in the neighborhood. Douglas,[37] St. Francis[38] and Liberty townships were centers of German settlement. The latter had a varied population, however, numbering 'New Englanders, Buckeyes, Southerners, Hoosiers, English, Irish and Poles' along with its Germans.[39]

Although the county had 3,700 inhabitants in 1850,[40] it had

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[34] Perrin, *History of Effingham County*, 56.

[35] *Ibid.*, 251.

[36] Salsbacher, *Meine Reise nach der Vereinigten Staaten*, 229, note.

[37] Douglas township had forty-four adult male Germans in 1840. Perrin, *Effingham County*, 147.

[38] *Ibid.*, 232.

[39] *Ibid.*, 239.

[40] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.

not a single church and not until 1852 was a house of worship erected. When the first church was built, it was a simple log structure and was made to serve as both school-house and church and was free to all denominations.[41]

The beginnings of settlement were made in Shelby county before 1830 and at that date the county had already been organized and had nearly 3,000 settlers. The early date of settlement may be explained by the fact that the county is well watered and well timbered since it is drained by many tributaries of the Kaskaskia river. The increase in the number of settlers during the twenty years amounted to 4,800. Moultrie county, however, had been cut off from Shelby county in 1843 which serves in part to account for the small increase in the number of settlers. Moultrie county's population in 1850 was a few more than 3,200.[42]

By far the greater number of the pioneers of these two counties came from states west of the Alleghanies, which seems to indicate that in this part of Illinois the absence of lines of communication with the far eastern states served to limit the classes of settlers to those who came from neighboring states.[43]

At the first election held after the organization of Coles county in 1831, sixty votes were cast.[44] At the end of the decade the population numbered 9,000, Mattoon and Charleston being the chief towns.[45] Unfavorable conditions existed in the county but the number of settlers increased in spite of the lack of markets and the existing poor prices.[46] In 1850 there were eight townships claiming between seven and fourteen hundred settlers each. Charleston was a village of importance, having

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[41] Perrin, *History of Effingham County*, 176.

[42] For population of Shelby and Moultrie counties see *Seventh Census* (1850), 701–702.

[43] The biographies of four hundred and fifty pioneers of Shelby and Moultrie counties have been examined with the following results. Ninety-five settlers came from Ohio, eighty-seven from Kentucky, seventy from Tennessee, sixty-six from other parts of Illinois, forty from the southern states, thirty-six from Indiana and a few were foreigners and from the eastern states. *History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties*, 319–333.

[44] *History of Coles County*, 244.

[45] *Seventh Census* (1850), 705.

[46] Corn sold for eight cents a bushel and wheat for twenty-five cents. A cow and a calf brought eight dollars and good horses were bought for forty dollars. *History of Coles County*, 460.

eight hundred and fifty inhabitants.[47] School houses had been erected at various places in the county and Charleston had a church and a newspaper office.[48] The settlers came chiefly from Kentucky with some representatives from Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas and the states of the Middle West.[49]

Champaign county owing to its location in the heart of the great prairie district, did not fill up rapidly, for timber was scarce. Permanent settlements were few before the Black Hawk War but after danger from the Indians had passed settlements sprang up in the timber. Urbana, Mahomet, Newcomb, St. Joseph, Condit and Sidney all had settlers by 1840[50] when the population of the county amounted to about 1,500 people.[51]

Urbana, the county town, was the most important settlement and boasted of having a store in 1834. The goods sold here had been purchased in Philadelphia, carted over the mountains to Pittsburg and shipped down the Ohio to Evansville, Indiana, from which place they were brought to Urbana by wagons. Owing to the heavy cost of transportation, it is not surprising to learn that calico and the coarsest kind of brown muslin brought prices varying from thirty-five to fifty cents a yard. Other articles sold at correspondingly high prices.[52] Among the settlers of Urbana were numbered a physician, a preacher, a lawyer and still more important personages for frontier settlements, a blacksmith and a wagon maker.[53]

In the next decade the population of the county increased to about 2,700 souls with Urbana and Homer as the chief towns, neither of which had more than two hundred settlers.[54] Champaign, now by far the most important city of the county, had not a single settler, being entirely the product of the railroad which crossed the county in the next decade.

While Champaign was not a frontier county in 1850, and while it was a large county with exceedingly fertile land, the

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[47] *Seventh Census* (1850), 705.
[48] *History of Coles County*, 318-322.
[49] *Ibid.*, 500.
[50] Lothrop, *Champaign County Directory*, 373-428.
[51] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701.
[52] Lothrop, *Champaign County Directory*, 124.
[53] *Ibid.*, 439.
[54] *Seventh Census* (1850), 701-705.

population was much smaller than that of many other counties located in the northern or western parts of the state. The slow settlement can be attributed to two things; the lack of lines of communication with the populous eastern states, and the scarcity of timber land. The pioneers had not by 1850 learned the solution of the problems of the prairie and those who came to eastern Illinois sought places where timber was more plentiful than here.

The earliest settlers had come to De Witt county before 1830 but the organization of the county did not take place until 1839, owing to the small number of inhabitants. The Salt Creek settlement, now known as Farmer City, had but four families in 1832 and the nearest neighbors were ten miles away. In 1839 the number of families had grown to nineteen.[55] De Witt and Clinton villages had their first houses erected in 1835 and 1836.[56] By 1840 the former had a store, a mill, a hotel, a post-office and a church which made it a town of much importance in the county.[57] In 1840 the population of the county was about 3,250 and in 1850 it was 5,000; Clinton and Waynesville with from three to four hundred inhabitants each, being the principal settlements.[58]

The nativities of the pioneers of De Witt county show that the early settlers came chiefly from the states of the Middle West, the representatives of the eastern states being few.[59]

The settlement of Piatt county began in 1830 when some settlers came from Ohio. The county government was organized in 1840 with Monticello, a village of one hundred inhabitants, as the county town.[60] Settlement increased but slowly in the county and in 1850 the population was but 1,600.[61]

Macon county which at the opening of this period had 1,100

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[55] *History of De Witt County*, 214–215.

[56] *Ibid.*, 151.

[57] *Ibid.*, 287.

[58] *Seventh Census* (1850), 706.

[59] Of two hundred and sixty settlers who came to De Witt county before 1850, ninety-five came from Ohio, thirty-eight from Kentucky, thirty from other parts of Illinois, twenty-two from New York, twenty from Indiana, eighteen from Tennessee and seven from New England. *History of De Witt County*, 339.

[60] Norris and Gardiner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 105.

[61] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

inhabitants, had in 1840, over 3,000 and in 1850 about 4,000.[62] Decatur was the chief town but enjoyed a rather unsteady growth. It was begun in 1825 and was still a hamlet in 1836. In spite of the fact that from 1836 to 1842 the state of Illinois went through her darkest days, Decatur experienced her best ones until after 1850. During this period the growth of the village was comparatively rapid, owing to a belief among the people that a railroad was soon to be built through the town. In 1842 its population had reached five hundred, and here the decline set in because of the vanishing hope concerning the proposed railroad.[63] Through the rest of our period the town was at a standstill and to some extent this seems true of the county as a whole, for the gain of one thousand inhabitants in a period of ten years does not seem a great deal for a county which was situated in a rich agricultural district and no longer on the frontier. From its proximity to the Sangamon country and owing to its early settlement, it seems probable that a great part of the population was from the southern states, having followed up the Sangamon river.[64]

McLean county, fortunate in having a liberal supply of timber besides fertile prairie land, was an ideal country for new settlers. As a result of these advantages the county which had but ninety-three families at the time of its organization in 1830, had, by the end of the decade, over 6,500 settlers, and by 1850 had reached the 10,000 mark.[65] To the natural advantages favoring McLean county there was one drawback which was of a serious nature, and that was the lack of a handy market. Chicago was the market for stock, and those farmers who had produce to sell were of necessity forced to carry it to Chicago—everything which could walk, sheep, hogs, horses, cattle, turkeys and geese, was driven. Occasionally other places served as

[62] *Ibid.*, 702.

[63] *History of Macon County*, 116.

[64] Information here is inadequate. The nativities of fifty-five lawyers and judges have been recorded by a local historian. Twenty-four came from the South Atlantic States, seventeen from Kentucky and Tennessee, five from the Middle Atlantic States, two from New England, two from western states, and two were foreigners. *History of Macon County*, 31.

[65] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

markets but it seems to have been a general rule to trade at Chicago.

Although McLean county was considered as a frontier county as late as 1840, yet it had some settlements of importance before this date. Big Grove had one hundred and fifty families, Dry Grove had fifty, Cheney's Grove had twenty-four and Bloomington had four hundred and fifty inhabitants.[66] Besides these, there were two or three settlements made by colonies formed in the East.

In 1830 a company in Butler county, Ohio, sent an agent to Illinois to select and buy land preparatory to the establishment of a settlement. The instructions were carried out and in the fall of the year the colony, comprising five families in all, settled in Dale township.[67]

Five years later another enterprise of the same sort was begun, but on a much larger scale. This time the promoters were Rhode Island men and their plan was to open up the western lands and settle enterprising farmers, merchanics and tradesmen upon them. A charter was obtained from the state and a company formed with a capital stock of $12,500. Each subscriber was to receive three hundred and twenty acres of land and four lots in the village of Mount Hope. In 1837 fifteen families left Rhode Island and Massachusetts and settled upon their Illinois claims. A few houses were erected but owing to the panic of 1837 the plan never succeeded well and practically fell through. Eight thousand acres of land were, however, taken up and entered by the company.[68]

A similar fate overtook the Hudson colony in the same year. The Illinois Land Association, as it was called, was organized at Jacksonville in February, 1836. In the name of one of the promoters, nearly all the township of Hudson was entered. The plan was to get subscribers for the company at two hundred and thirty-five dollars per share. Each share entitled the holder of the certificate to one hundred and sixty acres of land

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[66] *History of McLean County*, 330.

[67] *Ibid.*, 612.

[68] *History of McLean County*, 579; Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean County*, 736.

besides twenty acres of timber for fencing, building and fuel, and also four town lots in the village of Hudson which was to be built upon the company's land. Since the greater part of the timber land of the county had already been settled upon, the agreement concerning the allotment of timber to each subscriber could not be fulfilled and some dissatisfaction arose therefrom, causing a number to withdraw. Twenty of the stockholders became settlers in 1837 but the financial trouble of that year put an end to the scheme. The settlers and promoters were from Hudson, New York.[69]

Bloomington, it was believed in the early days, would never be a town of any importance since stone, timber, coal, water power and navigable waters, which were thought to be necessities for a successful settlement, were not to be found in any quantities near its site. Its growth, however, was a steady one, save only in the period of depression following 1837. From a village of eighty inhabitants in 1831[70] it increased to one hundred and eighty in 1834 and four hundred and fifty by 1836.[71] The population had increased to six hundred in 1840 in spite of the unfavorable conditions existing at the time.[72] During the next three years, however, the little town suffered. Lands and town lots became almost worthless; improved land could be bought for a dollar and a quarter an acre.[73] By 1843 every merchant had been forced into bankruptcy, money was scarce, farm produce was well-nigh worthless, emigration began among those who could get away and immigration had practically ceased. Much property was forfeited because of the inability of the owners to pay taxes.[74] From this date times improved and the village again began to grow. The small, irregular, sparsely settled town developed from one of 600 in 1840 to one of 1,600 in 1850, while the precinct outside of the town had an additional 1,000 settlers. Several other settlements in the county had more than seven hundred settlers.[75]

[69] *History of McLean County*, 603.
[70] *Ibid.*, 316.
[71] Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean County*, 45.
[72] *History of McLean County*, 335.
[73] *Ibid.*, 336.
[74] McLean County Historical Society *Publications*, 1, 409.
[75] *Seventh Census* (1850), 712.

Most of the early pioneers came from western states; Ohio and Kentucky sending the greatest numbers.[76]

Of the northern counties of eastern Illinois, Livingston and Iroquois counties were organized before 1850. In Kankakee county, then a part of Will county, was a settlement of interest. It was a Canadian community, established by Noel Vasseur, and for a time it flourished. Later, Americans came and filled up the surrounding county, but Bourbonnais as late as 1879 still preserved to a great extent the customs and appearances of a genuine Canadian village. In its best days possibly 6,000 or 7,000 people lived there in their quiet cottages, grouped about the church, college, and convent.[77] The census of 1850 credits the village with a population over 1,700.[78]

While Livingston county was still a part of McLean county, settlements were started in it and by 1832 the Rook Creek, Belle Prairie and Indian Grove settlements each had a few pioneers. At Pontiac and Amity, and in Oswego and Forrest townships, a few settlers grouped themselves during the next few years.[79]

Pontiac, one of the two important settlements, was located by New Yorkers who erected their cabins at this place in 1833. Four years later the town was surveyed, platted and lots sold at five dollars each. In 1850 a whole block in the same town could be bought for ten dollars and if it was an unusually desirable one perhaps twenty dollars would be required to procure it. In 1835 a few families from Ohio, Vermont and New York joined those already in Pontiac and three years later the first substantial addition was made in the shape of a colony of seventeen persons from New York.[80]

A decade later the village presented the same appearance, having experienced no growth whatever. Half a dozen cabins,

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[76] Of two hundred and sixty pioneers who came to McLean county before 1850, sixty-one came from Kentucky, sixty from Ohio, thirty from Virginia, fourteen from Pennsylvania, thirteen each from New York and Tennessee and ten from North Carolina. Only thirteen were New Englanders, eighty-eight from the other Atlantic states, while one hundred and fifty were from the states west of the mountains. Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean County*, 125-865.

[77] *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 4, 598.

[78] *Seventh Census*. (1850), 716.

[79] *History of Livingston County*, 295-405.

[80] *Ibid.*, 300-301.

so hidden away in the bushes as to be almost invisible, and a court house composed the town of Pontiac. So insignificant was this county town at this date that, it is said, travelers sometimes inquired of its residents the distance to Pontiac. Its population in 1849 was seventy-eight souls.[81]

To the township of Amity must be accorded the honor of being the most important center of population in Livingston county prior to 1850. Settled first in 1833, its population numbered two hundred in 1843 and about two hundred and fifty in 1850.[82] Many of the settlers had come from Ohio and were decidedly above the class of pioneers generally found on the frontier.[83]

Besides these two settlements, but little else existed until along into the fifties, for the true development of the county dates from 1854, when the Chicago and Alton built its line.[84] The opening of the Illinois and Michigan canal in 1848 served to bring some settlers from northern Ohio and Indiana and southern Michigan, but the number was not large.[85] Settlement had not left the line of the Vermilion river by 1850 and even where so closely grouped this ribbon of settlement over the county did not exceed five miles in width. Beyond these limits occasional settlements were found but the largest ones had but four or five families each.[86]

Development in all lines seems to have been slow. In 1847 not a store existed in Livingston county, the nearest approach to such an institution being a peddler who made monthly trips from Ottawa, supplying from his wagon the needs of every family in the county. The mediums of exchange acceptable were feathers, ginseng and deer skins.[87] The population in 1850 was 1,550,[88] the least of any county in Illinois.

The history of settlement in Iroquois county is a repetition of that of the other prairie counties. Scattered settlements are

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[81] *Ibid.*, 300–301.

[82] *Ibid.*, 406–411; *Seventh Census* (1850), 711.

[83] *History of Livingston County*, 411.

[84] *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, 341.

[85] *History of Livingston County*, 534.

[86] *Ibid.*, 422.

[87] *Ibid.*, 245.

[88] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

found along several of the wooded streams. The Kickapoo and the Pottowatomie Indians remained in the county until the years 1836 and 1837 and while they were friendly undoubtedly their presence served to retard settlement, for the Indian scare of 1832 was still fresh in the minds of the frontiersmen.[89]

Several colonies of some note came during the years 1834 and 1835. First to come was a Pennsylvanian colony numbering thirty-two people, all of whom were owners of considerable property. They settled at Milford, and two years later were joined by a party of Virginians.[90] In 1835 a colony of Norwegians came, but in selecting a spot for settlement this colony was unfortunate and hit upon a place which was unhealthful. Sickness broke out among them and, discouraged by the outlook, the entire colony, numbering thirty people, left Beaver Creek in 1837 and went to Wisconsin.[91]

One example of a "paper town," we find in Iroquois county in 1835 during the period of the craze for speculation which swept over the country during the thirties. A company, known as the Plato company, bought some land, laid out a town and advertised it in New York and Boston as "the head of navigation on the Iroquois" and "one of the handsomest locations for a city in the world." Some lots were sold for higher prices than Chicago lots commanded but the undertaking proved a failure.[92]

Various small settlements were made during the decade but the settlers clung closely to the timber and remained there until the Illinois Central Railroad crossed the county.[93] The pioneers came chiefly from Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky but representatives from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Canada and Europe were also present. The population in 1850 had reached 4,100.[94]

In 1830 the population of the counties of eastern Illinois amounted to 14,000 souls; in 1850 it numbered over 87,500,

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[89] *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, 299.

[90] *History of Iroquois County*, 138.

[91] *Ibid.*, 339.

[92] *Ibid.*, 388.

[93] Settlements were located at Onarga, Ash Grove, Belmont, Upper Spring Creek, Lower Spring Creek and in Middlefort, Del Rey, Concord, Iroquois and Stockland townships. *Ibid.*, 209–480; pt. II, 7–12.

[94] *Seventh Census* (1850), 702.

which seems small when the immense tract of land over which it was scattered is thought of. Little of the population was urban for in all this region there were but four settlements claiming more than one thousand inhabitants, and but nine more having over seven hundred and fifty.[95]

The reason for the lack of towns seems a simple one; cities spring up either where natural resources are to be exploited or where business will naturally concentrate. Industry in eastern Illinois was wholly argicultural and the products were stock and grain. The great requirement was a market, and inland towns such as Bloomington could not furnish it, because there were no lines of transportation, whereby the accumulated produce could be transferred to another larger market for distribution. Consequently a city could not exist in this agricultural region save only with an outlet. When the railroads were built from Chicago south and southwest, tapping this agricultural region, prosperity was assured and a market placed close at hand for the farmer. The produce buyers of the inland towns no longer feared an accumulation of goods either agricultural or mercantile. The farmer, able to dispose of his produce, was inclined to buy more merchandise and the dealer realized his profits. Business increased with the increase of markets for farm produce, which was the work of the railroads.

The influence of timber upon the location of settlement is noticeable in this part of the state.[96] Even in 1850 the pioneer felt safest when reinforced by a friendly strip of timber, and at this date the process of taking up the woodlands was still under way. In the southern and central counties these timber tracts had been wholly taken up and around each patch of timber was a circle of cabins whose occupants cultivated that part of the prairie lying close by. Where the well-traveled roads, such as the Hubbard trace or the National Road, crossed the prairie, there were always found a string of settlers' cabins. The filling up process which was to go on in the spaces inter-

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[95] Bloomington and Newton were the largest towns.

[96] Note the location of the county towns of eastern Illinois. Effingham, Danville, Charleston, Shelbyville, Sullivan, Decatur, Monticello, Urbana, Clinton, Bloomington, Pontiac, Watseka and Kankakee, were situated in the timber along the streams.

vening between the timber settlements had thus begun but as yet could not be carried on with any rapidity since transportation was no easier than before. On the northern frontier the timber had not all been claimed and here the development of settlement was not so far advanced as farther south. Besides in the northeastern counties of eastern Illinois the swampy lands practically prohibited settlement and it was not until these swamps were drained that the counties were settled with any degree of density.

An examination of the nativities of the early pioneers discloses a different state of affairs than existed in southern Illinois or in northern Illinois. It differs from southern Illinois in the fact that a considerable number of settlers came from the states north of the Ohio, but west of the mountains. In comparing the population with that of the northern counties it is found that the percentage of settlers from New England or the Middle Atlantic states is much smaller in eastern Illinois than in the northern section of the state. Here there were no great trunk lines of transportation to influence settlement and since many of the pioneers came from the neighboring states, it seems reasonable to believe that the settlement of this part of Illinois was the result of a natural movement of the agricultural classes such as has taken place within recent decades from those states east of the Mississippi river to Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota and the Dakotas. The impelling force was not one which caused whole communities to move, but a force which came from the belief that conditions for the accumulation of wealth were better "farther west."[97]

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[97] The biographies of 1,138 early settlers in this part of the state have been examined with the following results; two hundred and eighty came from Ohio, two hundred and ten from Kentucky, one hundred and six from Tennessee, eighty from Indiana, eighty from other parts of Illinois, one hundred and sixty from the southern states, eighty from the Middle Atlantic states and but a few from New England. Six hundred and seventy-seven came from the four western states, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, and four hundred and sixty-one from other places.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEAD REGION

Long before the rest of northern Illinois received any settlers the lead district had been explored. Hennepin's map of 1687 locates a mine in the neighborhood of the present site of Galena and it is said that the French traders at Peoria purchased lead from the Indians as early as 1690.[1] A map of Louisiana published in 1703 shows plainly the location of Dubuque's mines west of the Mississippi and also the Galena mines.[2] Forty years later a score of miners eked a scanty existence here by means of surface mining.[3] In 1769 Martin Duralde received a concession of land on Le Seuer's River of Mines for the purpose of mining[4] and after a lapse of nearly twenty years Julien Dubuque appeared in the region and began mining on both sides of the Mississippi, working 'diggings' as far east as Apple River.[5]

It soon became known to the Americans that valuable lead mines existed in this region and accordingly negotiations were entered into with the Indians for the purchase of a tract of land fifteen miles square, to be located somewhere on the right bank of the Mississippi. In 1804 the treaty was signed[6] and Congress passed a law providing for leasing the tract for terms not to exceed five years. No leases were made, however, until 1822.[7] Now the miners began to come one by one, to share in

[1] Thwaites, *Notes on Early Leadmining,* in Wis. Hist. *Collections,* 13, 272.

[2] *Ibid.,* 274.

[3] *Ibid.,* 276.

[4] *Ibid.,* 278.

[5] *Ibid.,* 280.

[6] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois,* 346.

[7] Washburne, *Lead Region and Lead Trade of the Upper Mississippi* in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine,* 18, 288.

the industry which the Indians carried on to the best of their ability.[8] In 1816 the first boat load of lead—seventy tons—was sent down the river.[9] Col. Davenport, of Rock Island, an agent for the American Fur Company, established a trading post at Portage near the mouth of Fever river.[10]

Even now the United States government had not convinced itself of the exact location of the mines, for in the treaty concluded with the Indians, August 24, 1816 at St. Louis, when all lands lying north of a line drawn due west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River were conceded to the Indians, a reservation of five leagues square on the same river was made by the treaty. This reservation was to be designated at some later time by the President and it seems evident that the sole object of this reservation was to obtain control of the lead mines whenever their location could be definitely determined.[11]

The exact date of the first permanent settlement by whites in this region is not known. Boutilier,[12] Shull and Muir were probably here before 1820 and tradition has it that a man named January had for some years previous conducted a trading post at the mines.[13] In 1819 an expedition consisting of six or eight boats carrying possibly one hundred men left St. Louis under the command of Col. R. M. Johnson bound for Fever river. After a slow trip of twenty days it reached Galena and the business of making a treaty with the Indians was accomplished after a parley of nine days. This negotiation concluded, "the mines were then for the first time opened for civilized enterprise."[14]

For three years little or no addition was made to the settlement. Estimates of the size of the settlement vary[15] probably

[8] Thwaites, *Notes on Early Leadmining*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **13**, 285.

[9] *Personal Recollections of Col. John Shaw*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **2**, 228.

[10] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 233.

[11] Thwaites, *Notes on Early Leadmining*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **13**, 286.

[12] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 346.

[13] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 231.

[14] Bonner, *Life and Adventures of Beckwourth*, 20.

[15] Tenny, *Early Times in Wisconsin*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **1**, 95, says there were but two cabins at the mines; the author of *The History of Jo Daviess County* (228), gives the number of cabins as ten or twelve.

owing to the instability of the mining population; but with the arrival of Col. Johnson with his band of slaves[16] the rapid growth of population in the region begins. The first steamboat came up the Fever river in this year and the shipment of lead in considerable quantities began. With the increase of this product, the increase of population advanced.[17] During the years 1821, 1822 and 1823 an aggregate of 335,000 pounds was shipped from here; by 1827 it had increased to over 5,000,000 pounds and by 1829 to 13,344,150 pounds.[18] which appears to have been the high water mark of export.

In 1824 two events of considerable importance happened; the establishment of a store in the village[19] and the arrival of the first colony of settlers. Up to this time the settlers were entirely dependent upon the supplies which they brought with them or upon those brought by the boats which occasionally came to the mines. The building of a store shifted a responsibility which, in all pioneer communities, was one of great weight and especially so in the case of the miners whose nearest neighbors at this time were at Peoria on the Illinois river. The colony hailed from Cincinnati and consisted of forty-three people under the leadership of Dr. Meeker.[20] The voyage from Cincinnati had consumed sixty days but this was considered good time for a keel-boat. Upon their arrival they found a settlement of about one hundred miners.[21]

Immigration now flowed in rapidly and the fifteen mile boundary prescribed by the treaty of 1816 was overstepped. Here and there in the surrounding country, at Shullsburg, East Fork and New Diggings, were grouped little mining camps,[22] and when the season opened in 1826 nearly two hundred men were digging in the vicinity of Galena.[23] The number in-

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[16] Johnson brought between one hundred and one hundred and fifty slaves with him. (*History of Jo Daviess County*, 243.)

[17] *Chicago Evening Post*, Sept. 5, 1896.

[18] *Illinois and her Resources*, in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 5, 434.

[19] *Galena and its Leadmines*, in *Harper's Magazine*, 32, 692.

[20] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 238; Meeker, *Early History of the Lead Region of Wisconsin*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, 6, 276.

[21] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 242.

[22] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 346.

[23] *House Executive Documents*, 19 Congress, 1 Sess., 2, 7.

creased to over four hundred in June[24] and by the coming fall five hundred and fifty were there.[25] In the whole region it was estimated that nearly sixteen hundred men were at work by this time.[26] Fever River post office, of Crawford county, Illinois was established in 1826[27] and the mail came from Vandalia once every two weeks.[28] Fever River voting precinct, containing all the voters in the mining region as far north as Michigan, was also established in the same year,[29] and at the first election two hundred and two votes were cast.[30] The tax collector for this settlement resided at Peoria and for a time could do no more towards the completion of his task than to record the names of the tax payers for the miners openly defied him and refused to pay taxes.[31]

Although Kellog's trail and Bolle's trail were the great lines of communication with the interior of the state, the most interesting accession to the population of the mining district came from the north. In the year 1821 Lord Selkirk's Swiss colony had come to America and settled in the far-away valley of the Red River of the North. For a period of five years they experienced many hardships, and becoming dissatisfied with their lot, a part left for the South, settling in St. Louis, still another part came to Galena in the autumn of 1826 and being financially well-to-do these new arrivals proved welcome additions to the settlement.[32]

The fame of the lead mines spread abroad and the year 1827 saw a noticeable increase in the numbers of immigrants. House after house was built and in place of the twenty cabins reported by the mayor of Galena in 1826,[33] with their five hundred and fifty inhabitants, there were now more than one hundred houses and stores,[34] and between 6,000, and 7,000 people residing in

[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 265.
[26] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 346.
[27] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 246.
[28] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 346.
[29] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 247.
[30] *History of Ogle County*, 249.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, 6.
[33] *Niles' Register*, 63, 388.
[34] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 253.

the district.[35] The population at this date was also becoming more stable. Americans, Irish and French predominated, although in 1827[36] there came the first representative of a nationality which was soon to form an important element in the mining country. The new-comer was a Cornishman and, having emigrated from the lead mining region of England, naturally sought out that portion of the United States where he could to the best advantage pursue his vocation. From 1830 to 1850 the Cornish population in this region increased rapidly.[37]

Through the unwise action of some of the miners the Winnebago war[38] broke out in 1827 and although the consequences were not serious much inconvenience was experienced by those miners living at some distance from Galena. All operations ceased at the first alarm and the miners hurried to the settlement where they were compelled to remain for some time experiencing actual hardships owing to inclement weather, scarcity of provisions and the limited accommodations for housing the additional population. The trouble with the Indians once over the miners again scattered over the country.

In the same year Jo Daviess county was organized and the town of Galena surveyed and divided into lots. No title was given to those occupying the lots and moreover it was provided that upon thirty days notice lots were to be vacated by the settlers no matter how much improvement had been made upon them.[39] Titles were, however, given in 1838. Although organized as a county of Illinois the people were not enthusiastic about becoming a part of the state, preferring rather to be part of a new state. In 1828, accordingly, a petition signed by the residents of this region was sent to Congress, praying that the territory north of the line of 1787 be organized into a new territory, the seat of government being at Galena.[40] Nothing

[35] Ford, *Illinois,* 67.

[36] *History of Jo Daviess County,* 253.

[37] Copeland, *Cornish in Southwestern Wisconsin,* in Wis. Hist. *Collections,* 14, 305.

[38] McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass,* 124; Edwards, *Illinois,* 218.

[39] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois,* 346.

[40] The line connected the southern point of Lake Michigan with a point on the Mississippi River directly to the west. The Galena settlement was north of the line. At the admission of the state, the boundary was made 42° 30′ (Sanford, *State Sovereignty in Wisconsin,* in Am. Hist. Assn. *Reports* (1891), 177-193). For the petition see *House Document* 35, 20 Cong., 2 Sess. 2.

was done in the matter till in the forties when another attempt was made by the northern counties to separate from the rest of the state. At this time the boundary question was settled at the present line.

Year by year the population of the lead region grew and with it grew the importance of Galena, its market place and its base of supplies. In 1830 the town had some nine hundred inhabitants,[41] "a most singular and mysterious medley of people from all quarters of the earth" seeking wealth. Illinois settlers predominated, although there were probably representatives from every state in the union.[42] Of the foreign population, the Irish seem to have been most in evidence.[43] In 1832 one writer estimates the population of the village at six hundred and sixty-nine people, there being some two hundred dwelling houses, warehouses and shops.[44] Another places the number at between 1,000 and 1,500,[45] while the Galena correspondent for the *Baltimore American* stated that "the town contained a population of 5,000 to 7,000 inhabitants."[46] Of these estimates probably the first is the most reliable as it is the most conservative and is given by a resident of the town. Allowing for the rapid increase of the summer the second estimate may probably be correct also, but the third one, published by *Niles' Register* is much too high and possibly refers to the entire district, the population of which had already been estimated at 10,000 souls.[47] "It was a lively little town giving promise of great things in the future."[48] A considerable number of stores had been established, groceries abounded, a dozen lawyers and four or five physicians were located there. The Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics represented the religious sects, each having established congregations.[49]

The story of the settlement of the lead region has practically

[41] *Niles' Register,* 63, 388.
[42] Reynolds, *Illinois,* 168.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Miners' Journal* (Galena, Ills.), May 9, 1832.
[45] Thwaites, *Narrative of Morgan L. Martin,* in Wis. Hist. *Collections,* **11**, 398.
[46] *Niles' Register,* 34, 344.
[47] *Miners' Journal,* May 9, 1832.
[48] Thwaites, *Narrative of Morgan L. Martin,* in Wis. Hist. *Collections,* **11**, 398.
[49] Atwater's, *Writings,* 238.

been told in the development of Galena. The succeeding years are but repetitions of the earlier ones with this exception—the field widened and soon the surrounding region for miles was dotted with small mining camps and trading posts.[50] The occupation was, however, interrupted, for the Black Hawk War broke out in 1832 and again the miners hurried to Galena asking protection from the Indians. The battle of the Bad Axe, in August, 1832, broke forever the power of the Sac and Fox Indians and when by the treaty closing the war the remnants of the once powerful tribes were removed beyond the Mississippi, the miners were at last allowed to carry on their work in safety.[51]

With the close of the war, growth again began and the "wonderful mixture of humanity"[52] gathered new ingredients, for men of all nations and stations covered the "whole earth, north, east and south of Galena . . . prospecting, digging and looking for lead ore."[53] At Berreman, Vinegar Hill, Hanover, Council Hill, Elizabeth, Rush, Apple River and Scales Mound, settlements formed varying in size but generally small, consisting of from three to a dozen miners each.[54] Of these Elizabeth, on the Apple River, was most important and had in 1832 a population of forty-five. Before 1840 the village was laid out and there were a school, a grist mill and a sawmill in operation.[55]

Slowly indeed Galena lost the characteristics of a frontier town since the industry from which it drew its life tended to keep the population unstable and operated against the advancement of varied industries. However, in the closing years of the decade from 1831 to 1840 it was described as a town of 1,800 inhabitants and as having all the appearance of an old city, but deficient in cleanliness and comfort.[56] In addition to the churches already established an Episcopal parish was organized

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[50] Thwaites, *Story of the Black Hawk War*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **12**, 228.

[51] Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 221-225.

[52] Murray, *Travels in North America*, **2**, 129.

[53] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 169.

[54] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 555-608.

[55] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 586.

[56] *Niles' Register*, **63**, 388.

and a chapel erected in 1838.[57] A temperance society had been organized;[58] newspapers had from time to time been published, but owing to difficulties had died out until the establishment of *The Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser* in November, 1834[59] which has continued to the present time; a Library Association had been formed supporting a library of over eight hundred volumes;[60] there was a fire department,[61] and a branch of the State Bank of Illinois.[62] Balls[63] and theatres[64] furnished amusement for the people, although accommodations for such gatherings were limited. Such was the 'Leadmine City' when it was incorporated by Act of the State Legislature in February, 1839.[65]

By 1840 the population had increased to 3,000 and there were in the city five hundred and fifty buildings, the rateable property being estimated at from $1,600,000 to $1,700,000.[66] The bustle of business caused many an observer to prophesy a brilliant future for the town for it was then the distributing point for northwestern Illinois, as well as for southwestern Wisconsin. To its inhabitants and to those of the surrounding country it seemed destined to become "the largest and most flourishing city of the West, north of St. Louis."[67] Its location was peculiar; crowded together at the base of the bluffs, to a visitor it presented a singular appearance. Its compactness coupled with the instability of its population caused the election officials occasional embarrassment for, as *Niles' Register* stated, "the inhabitants shift about so from place to place and so many of them dwell in the holes and clefts of the rocks that it is difficult to say where they belong."[68]

From a commercial standpoint Galena as the center of the

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[57] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 504.
[58] *Miners' Journal*, May 9, 1832.
[59] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 433.
[60] *Ibid.*, 476.
[61] *Ibid.*, 458.
[62] *Ibid.*, 475.
[63] *Ibid.*, 254.
[64] *A Winter in the West*, 2, 50.
[65] *Galena and its Leadmines*, in *Harper's Magazine*, 32, 693.
[66] *Senate Document*, 349, 26 Congress, 1 Sess., 6.
[67] *Madison Express*, Feb. 1, 1840.
[68] *Niles' Register*, 65, 171.

mining region gained in importance during the decade. In spite of adverse tariff legislation and the unsatisfactory governmental administration of the mining lands, the industry increased, until 1847, when owing to the closing down of furnaces on account of the tariff,[69] the shipments of lead steadily decreased.[70] The exportation of wheat began[71] and although nothing is stated concerning other farm produce it is not improbable that since this city was the most convenient trading post of the region, the agricultural class looked to it as a market for their products. The amount of exports was greater than that of any town on the Mississippi above St. Louis, amounting to about $2,500,000 in 1846.[72] Steamboats in great numbers plied from this port down the Mississippi; in 1840 there were three hundred arrivals and departures;[73] in 1846 there was a still greater number.[74] Thirty thousand families were dependent upon Galena for their supplies of merchandise.[75] The population of the city itself was reported to be 5,500.[76]

In 1846 a radical change was made by the government in the administration of its mineral lands, which operated for the good of those occupying claims upon such lands. After the acquisition of this portion of the country by the treaty of 1804, Congress had passed a law reserving several of the lead mines from sale and authorizing the President to lease such mines. At that time the superintendence of the mines was one of the duties of the treasury department, but in 1821 was transferred to the war department which made the first leases in 1822. This system which was practically beyond the control of law, and subject only to the will of the secretary of war was productive of evils. Special agents, attorneys and others were finally entrusted with the duties of granting leases and collecting the rents. Favoritism and possibly worse things resulted. In 1835

[69] *Madison Express*, Sept. 8, 1846; *Weekly Northwestern Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1846.

[70] *Western Journal and Civilian*, March, 1852, 399.

[71] *Niles' Register*, 60, 304.

[72] Hall, *The West* (1848), 102.

[73] *Niles' Register*, 60, 288.

[74] Hall, *The West* (1848) 102.

[75] *Galena Jeffersonian*, Oct. 31, 1845.

[76] *Ibid.*

the system was for the time abandoned but was again revived in 1841 and the efforts made by occupants to obtain possession of their claims failed, owing to the exaggerated idea prevalent among the government officials at Washington concerning the mineral wealth of the region. In his report of 1845, Judge Shields, who was commissioner of the General Land Office, exposed the defects of the system and urged the sale of the mineral lands. As a result the Senate took hold of the question and in July, 1846, a law was passed directing the President to sell such mineral lands as were reserved in Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. Accordingly they were sold the next year and the squatters who had heretofore held but little right to their land now came into full possession of it.[77]

Throughout the country few settlements had been made which were of any importance, save only those which were mining camps. Apple River, which in 1832 had a few stragglers, had in 1845 some two hundred men all of whom were engaged in mining.[78] Council Hill, a few miles to the east from Galena, had at the close of the decade three hundred settlers, most of whom were English.[79] Some agricultural settlers had congregated on the Old Sucker trail near the present village of Scales Mound[80] and Warren, Nora and Dunlieth (now East Dubuque) had each a few scattered settlers drawn from New York, Tennessee, Ohio and from foreign countries.[81] These settlements, however, amounted to nothing until the Illinois Central road pushed its way across the state during the succeeding decade. Millville, laid off in 1846, contained a dry goods store, a blacksmith shop and a tavern; this made it for several years the most important village between Freeport and Galena.[82] At the close of the period 18,600 people lived in Jo Daviess county,[83] and since there were at this time 60,000 acres of land under culti-

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[77] Washburne, *Lead Region and Lead Trade of the Upper Mississippi*, in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, **18**, 288.

[78] *New York Weekly Tribune*, April 12, 1845.

[79] *Guide to Illinois Central Rail Road Lands*, (1861), 56.

[80] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 555.

[81] *Ibid.*, 542-558.

[82] *Ibid.*, 578.

[83] *Ibid.*, 216.

vation, we may believe that the agricultural as well as the mineral resources of the region were being developed.[84]

Carroll county joins Jo Daviess county on the south and, in a way, its settlement is connected with the expansion of the lead region. Ten years after the whites settled on Fever River the first settlers came to Carroll county. Three families established themselves on the present site of Savanna in 1828.[85] Settlement developed slowly before the Black Hawk War, but after the war settlers came a little more regularly. By 1837, perhaps, Savanna, which was yet the only town of any importance between Rock Island and Galena, began to enjoy a period of comfortable prosperity. It became the shipping point for hundreds of pioneers of the middle and upper Rock river country, since it was easier to reach than Galena. From as far up the Rock river as Rockford and Freeport the pioneers came with their farm products and returned with merchandise and lumber.[86] In 1839 Savanna was chosen as the county seat. The fact that two hundred and twelve votes were cast at the election[87] shows that the growth during the period of the preceding ten years had not been excessively rapid.

Through four years Savanna enjoyed the distinction of being the county seat of Carroll; at the end of this time another town more centrally located took that position. In 1837 a Virginian had located where Mt. Carroll now stands and laid out a town called Richmond. Offering liberal inducements to settlers he secured a few, but the financial troubles of 1837 killed the enterprise.[88] Before the close of the year, however, a mill company located its buildings at Richmond. Being the scene of improvements it naturally attracted settlers, who, increasing in number, made vigorous efforts to bring their town to a place where it would be a rival of Savanna. Savanna had failed to comply with the provisions of the county organizing act, so when Mt. Carroll made an attempt to become the seat of county

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[84] Peyton, *Statistical View of Illinois*, 13.
[85] *History of Carroll County*, 222.
[86] *Ibid.*, 359.
[87] *Ibid.*, 229.
[88] *Ibid.*, 254.

government, it was successful.[89] Steadily the settlements grew and smaller ones sprang up at places of vantage. In the course of a few years Elkhorn Grove, Wysox, Lanark and Salem settlements were added. The towns were small, however, and in 1850 the combined population in the county did not number 5,000 people.[90]

The settlement of the lead region cannot be taken as typical of the westward expansion. Exceptional conditions to a remarkable extent influenced the settlement, and transportation facilities combined with a concentrated resource brought out frontier characteristics. The life of the settlement in the earlier days depended entirely upon the success of mining ventures and during this period, Galena, the centre of population, may be said to have had all the characteristics of a frontier mining town. On every frontier, it is true, we find a mixture of peoples but in the lead region this mixture is found in a peculiarly marked degree. Foreigners from all portions of the world and Americans from every state of the Union were here thrown together indiscriminately. For the few bonds of sympathy which would naturally exist in such a community, the miners got along well together. Some were, perhaps, inclined to vote before they were legally entitled to the privilege; others openly opposed the tax collector. Some were men of questionable character and nearly all were adventurers, but in spite of these characteristics it is a noticeable thing that little "claim jumping" was indulged in, few infringements made upon law and above all there seemed to exist among this people a thorough trust and goodwill for every one. The only laws at first governing this portion of the state were contained on a single sheet of foolscap paper, signed by the superintendents of the mines and posted up in the most public places. They dealt with the settlement of disputes over mining claims; but as for ordinary business transactions such as credits, the people were to settle these among themselves, entirely on the law of honor.[91] In spite of this lax code of laws, seldom indeed did a miner fail

[89] *Ibid.*, 243.

[90] *Seventh Census* (1850), 704.

[91] *History of Jo Daviess County*, 348.

to meet his obligations and debts were freely contracted and honestly paid; unruly characters were speedily and perhaps often roughly expelled from the town. On the whole the community seems to have been a law-abiding one, even if the law adhered to was the simple law of the frontier. As late as the thirties, we are told, there was little or no use for a jail, for during a period of three years but one criminal had occupied it and he but for a week.[92]

The change of Galena from a frontier settlement to a city came when the development of the agricultural resources resulted in a yearly surplus which demanded a market, as did the products of the mines. Physiographic influences now became of greater moment. The concentrated mineral resource was in itself cause enough for the establishment of the city. To this was added the influence of the surrounding agricultural country which was developed by those who failed to find wealth in the mines. Lack of railroad communication made water communication all the more important, and Galena, situated conveniently upon the great water route to the southern markets became the collecting point for agricultural products for the markets of the South, as well as the distributing point for supplies brought up the river. With the increase of the settled area of the back country the importance of the city increased, and so it continued until the Illinois Central railroad penetrated the sphere of influence of Galena and drained the trade of the farming district towards the great lake port of Chicago.

Another characteristic in the lead district needs mention—the population. It has been noted that foreigners formed a considerable part of the population, but there was also a southern element present in large numbers and southern sentiment was for years strong in the community. To the mines may be traced the cause for the foreign population, but to the line of communication we must attribute the presence of the southern people. The Mississippi river was the thread of connection between this region and the outside world. To the east and the southeast especially before 1837 there was nothing save the prairie. Peoria far to the south (one hundred

[92] *Miner's Journal*, May 9, 1832.

and seventy miles) was the only neighbor during the early days, consequently there existed little or no tie between Galena and the rest of Illinois. Before the prairies of the north were settled, a decidedly southern aspect had been assumed by the city and it was to remain so for many years. This characteristic, it seems, goes to show the influence which transportation routes have upon newly settled countries. Wherever a comparatively good line of communication leads through a locality in which a tendency to emigrate exists, it is natural for those emigrating to follow this line of travel. An examination of the nativities of settlers residing along the line in the newer country will reveal the fact that a considerable number of these settlers are from the older country bordering the same route of travel.

The settlement, development and prosperity of the lead region, therefore are due to a series of causes in which mineral wealth, transportation facilities and agricultural development each plays a part.

CHAPTER X

Chicago

For a number of years after the war of 1812 Chicago grew slowly. In 1818 there were, outside of the garrison enclosure, but two log huts in the settlement and the nearest post office was at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, from which the mail was brought once a month.[1] In 1820 when Schoolcraft visited Chicago he found "a small village of ten or twelve houses accommodating sixty people—half-breeds, Canadian-French fur-traders and Virginians."[2]

Three years later Major Long visited Chicago and passed decidedly unfavorable comments upon it. "The village presents no cheering prospect as, notwithstanding its antiquity, it consists of but a few huts, inhabited by a miserable race of men scarcely equal to the Indians from whom they are descended. Their houses are low, filthy and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort. . . . It is not impossible" he added, "that at some distant period when the banks of the Illinois shall have been covered with a dense population and when the low prairies which extend between that river and Ft. Wayne shall have acquired a population proportionate to the produce they can yield, that Chicago may become one of the points in the direct line of communication between the northern lakes and the Mississippi but even the intercourse which will be carried on through this communication will, we think, at all time be a limited one; the dangers attending the navigation of the lake and the scarcity of harbors along the shores must ever prove a

[1] Mason, *Early Chicago and Illinois*, 12; *Life of Gurdon S. Hubbard*, 38.

[2] Wentworth, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago*, 3 in *Fergus Historical Series* I., No. 7.

serious obstacle to the commercial importance of Chicago."[3] Later development has shown beyond any doubt that the position of Chicago together with the scarcity of good ports along the lake has been of enormous advantage to the city.

By 1826 the taxable property in the Chicago settlement was valued at $8,000, the American Fur Company owning by far the greater part. Thirteen other property holders resided here and the voting population numbered thirty-five.[4] In 1829 the town was platted by the canal commissioners on land donated by Congress to aid the state in the construction of the Illinois-Michigan canal. The land sale took place in the fall of 1829 and competition among the land speculators forced the prices of lots up to a fancy figure for a frontier village.[5]

In 1830 the population was estimated at anywhere from twenty-five[6] to one hundred people,[7] although from time to time an influx of immigrants bound for the interior increased the population several fold for a short period.[8] Still, Chicago had no post office but the village was now of sufficient importance to receive a call from the mail-carrier once a week instead of once a month, as formerly. Prospective work on the canal attracted population and during the year immigrants began to swarm in. A brisk trade sprang up with the Indians who remained in the region, increasing the profits of the few traders located there, but otherwise injuring the prospects for the growth of white settlement. In 1831 Cook county was organized.[9] Previously it had been a precinct of Crawford county and had caused the tax collector of the county no end of trouble, for each year he was compelled to make the trip to Chicago to collect a few dollars which would not pay the expenses of the trip.

When 1832 opened there were half a dozen white families in Chicago and some Indians,[10] five log buildings composing the

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[3] *Niles' Register*, 57, 35.

[4] Wentworth, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago*, 15 in *Fergus Historical Series* 1, No. 7.

[5] Kingston, *Early Western Days* in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, 7, 333.

[6] *Land We Love*, 5, 470.

[7] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 12, 1875.

[8] Four hundred immigrants wintered here in 1831–32. (Moses and Kirkland, *Chicago*, 1, 87.)

[9] Sheahan and Upton, *The Great Conflagration*, 26.

[10] *Chicago Weekly American*, Aug. 15, 1835.

settlement.[11] As to the quality of the population at least one writer had decided views and expressed them. "Next in rank to the officers and commissioners may be noticed certain shop-keepers and merchants resident here; looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood or those passing yet farther to the westward for custom and profit; not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land agent and five or six hotel-keepers. These may be considered as stationary and proprietors of the half a hundred clapboard houses around you . . . Then for the birds of passage exclusive of the Pottawatomies—of whom more anon —and migrants and land speculators as numerous as the sand, you will find horse dealers and horse stealers—rogues of every description, white, black, brown and red—half breeds, quarter breeds and men of no breed at all; dealers in pigs, poultry and potatoes—men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land . . . others, for pigs which the wolves had eaten; creditors of the tribes or of particular Indians who know that they have no chance of getting their money if they do not get it from the government agents—sharpers of every degree, pedlars, grog sellers; Indian agents and Indian traders of every description and contractors to supply the Pottawatomies with food. The little village was in an uproar from morning to night and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled and whooped in their various encampments; with all this the whites to me, seemed to be more pagan than the red men."[12] This view shows the constant changing and shifting of population which renders it almost impossible to make an intelligent estimate of the size of the village.[13] It also brings to light the frontier characteristics which the village was not long to retain.

[11] *Early Days on the Lakes* (*Walker Mss.*, in Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*), (1902), 5.

[12] Latrobe, *Rambler in North America*, 3. 152.

[13] *Chicago Weekly American*, Aug. 15, 1835 estimates the population at two hundred; Andreas, *Chicago* (1, 159) says three hundred and fifty; in (1, 177), his estimate for 1833 is two hundred and fifty.

Beginning with the year 1833 Chicago enjoyed a wonderfully rapid growth until 1837. In May, 1833, the settlers organized the village of Chicago and by the end of the year there were one hundred and sixty frame houses[14] in the settlement, which showed a distinct advance over the few log huts of but two years before. Commerce now began to spring up and in 1833 four vessels, aggregating seven hundred tons burden, arrived.[15] Congress, to foster the new trade, made appropriations for the improvement of the harbor which at this date was an exceedingly poor one.[16] A newspaper was established, *The Chicago Weekly Democrat,* which was obliged to suspend publication from time to time, owing to lack of paper.[17]

The immigration of 1833 became a flood in 1834. During a part of the month of April the arrivals numbered one hundred a day, and it was estimated that in May some eight hundred more arrived. Building grew apace and by the end of June seventy-five new buildings had been added. The price of land had begun to advance and desirable locations upon business streets commanded a rental of three dollars per front foot.[18] The population was now established at 1,800.[19]

If immigration to Chicago was remarkable in 1834 it was enormous in 1835. In addition to the actual immigrants who came yearly in ever-increasing numbers, the land sale which was advertised to take place early in the year brought a crowd of strangers and capitalists ready to avail themselves of the rapid rise in land values which seemed sure to take place in and around Chicago and along the line of the canal.

Speculation reached its height in 1835 and 1836 and in the West, Chicago was its center. One transaction may be noted in the way of illustration. Early in the spring of 1835 a Mr. Hubbard bought eighty acres east of the river paying for it $5,000. A few months after his purchase he had occasion to go east and upon visiting New York, much to his surprise, he

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[14] Flinn and Wilkie, *Chicago Police*, 44.

[15] *Niles' Register*, **51**, 274.

[16] *American Railroad Journal and General Advertiser* (1847), 729.

[17] Gale, *Reminiscences of Chicago*, 47.

[18] *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, June 18, 1834.

[19] Andreas, *Chicago*, **1**, 159.

found quite a speculation in Chicago property raging there. Grasping the opportunity for a good bargain he hired an engraver, had a plat of his eighty acres prepared and sold half of his land for $80,000. Upon returning to Chicago and spreading the news, city property went up enormously in price; "every man who owned a garden patch stood on his head, imagined himself a millionaire, put up the corner lots to fabulous figures and what is strange, never could ask enough."[20] The price of land rose an hundred and frequently a thousand fold.[21] Sagacious men, looking far into the future, now seemed to perceive that cities and villages covering but small plots of ground were destined to grow without limit, and accordingly plunged wildly into speculation in lands, fearing all the time that it was already too late to reap the greatest benefits from investments. Over 572,000 acres of land were sold by the Chicago Land Office during the years 1835 and 1836.[22]

To aid the spirit of speculation which now raged in the West, business was done almost entirely upon a credit basis and it so continued until loss of confidence precipitated a financial crash. The incessant coming and going of people made the population of Chicago an unknown quantity during these years of speculation and, as one authority says it was "so mercurial in its evolution that it was almost impossible to keep your finger on a man long enough to count him."[23] So rapidly did newcomers throng into the town that the taverns could not begin to hold the crowds; and men, women and children thronged the wharves and streets. Storehouses were thrown open for their shelter and when this device could no longer supply the demand for lodging places tents were set up in the streets.[24]

The business blocks of the town had grown considerably[25] and the demand of lumber for new buildings was beyond the power of transportation facilities to supply, while the lack of

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Balestier, *Annals of Chicago*, 25. *Fergus Hist. Series*, 7, 1.

[22] *Prairie Farmer*, 8, 231.

[23] Gale, *Reminiscences of Chicago*, 103.

[24] *Chicago Weekly American*, June 13, 1835.

[25] *Chicago Weekly American*, Aug. 15, 1835, gives the following list of business houses in the town: Fifty stores; eight taverns; twenty-five mechanic's shops; two printing offices; one steam mill; one brewery.

mechanics to construct new buildings was for the time being a drawback to the growth of the town.[26] The streets were in no better condition than formerly. Lake street had been turnpiked but the irregular manner in which the boards had been laid and the lack of proper slant in the gutters tended to collect and stagnate the water drained from the streets, making them places favorable to the breeding of fevers.[27] Such conditions caused some people to hesitate to settle here and rather than risk their health among such surroundings they went into the interior.

The year 1836 was but a repetition of 1835 so far as development was concerned. Excavation began on the Illinois and Michigan canal[28] which was a signal for a new crowd of settlers and speculators to flock into the city. For the year[29] four hundred and fifty-six arrivals of boats are recorded. Besides bringing immigrants in great numbers, large amounts of merchandise were brought to supply the trade which had now developed with the back country. A person reading the county histories of central and northern Illinois is struck by the fact that a great proportion of the agricultural class of all these portions of the state looked to Chicago for the market for their produce and for the supply depot for such merchandise as they needed. Rapidly indeed did this trade increase as the country filled up and the demand was so great in both country and in the city itself that there was a shortage in 1836 since the dealers had not calculated on such a tremendous increase in trade.[30] Stores became in great demand, ordinary places of business bringing from $1,000 to $1,500 a year rent.[31] Population increased, but not with such rapidity as in preceding years, due probably to the fact that the commencement of work on the canal drew away many from the town, for a time at least.

In March, 1837, Chicago was given a city government and in the following May, William B. Ogden was elected mayor, at

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[26] *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, Dec. 4, 1835.
[27] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1835.
[28] Colbert and Chamberlain, *Chicago*, 46.
[29] *Niles' Register*, **51**, 274.
[30] *Chicago Weekly American*, July 9, 1836.
[31] *Ibid.*

which election seven hundred votes were cast.[32] Chicago was now a city indeed, in size as well as in government. By the census of July of 1837 it was found that 4,179 people[33] resided within the city limits, which extended over ten square miles. There were nearly five hundred buildings and the taxable valuation of property, placed at one-fourth the true value, amounted to $236.842. The city taxes for the year were $5,900.[34] The fact that the male population in the city, over twenty-one years of age, out-numbered the female population over two to one[35] gives evidence of the pioneer character of the city even at such a late date.

So far everything had been prosperous in this rapidly growing western town and indications pointed to a still more prosperous future; but the financial revulsion which swept over the country upon the heels of the craze for speculation proved a sad blow to Chicago. Immigration to the city stopped, or at least was checked to a great degree; business stagnated and city property became almost worthless, for no one wished to buy and every one wished to sell. Some men, accounted the most prosperous of Chicago's population in later years, owed their wealth to their inability to dispose of their property during these dark years of the city's history. The city gradually sank lower and lower in public favor and in commercial importance until it seemed "to sleep the sleep of death."[36] Slowly it revived from its lethargy and from 1842 again began to show signs of returning activity.

The population in 1838 was numerically less than in 1837 but a slight gain was enjoyed in 1839, as in 1840, from which date the yearly gains were more substantial.[37] The greater

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[32] *Illinois Blue Book*, (1900), 147, gives seven hundred and nine votes.

[33] Andreas, *Chicago*, **1**, 159.

[34] Colbert and Chamberlain, *Chicago*, 49.

[35] Andreas, *Chicago*, **1**, 177.

[36] *Chicago Times*, Apr. 30, 1846.

[37] Andreas, *Chicago*, **1**, 159, and Balestier, *Annals of Chicago*, **35** in *Fergus Hist. Series*, **1**, give statistics for the population of Chicago as follows:

1836 .... (A) 4000, (B) 3820
1837 .... (A) 4179, (B) 4179
1838 .... (A) 4000, (B) 4000
1839 .... (A) 4200, (B) 4200
1840 .... (A) 4470, (B) 4479
1841 .... (A) ——, (B) 5752
1842 .... (A) ——, (B) 6248

portion of the inhabitants were actively engaged in trade, but there were also a number of "retired families, army officers and persons living on incomes derived from land and funds."[38] A majority of the people were from the eastern states and this class of settlers held control of the city government. In 1841 Mayor Sherman and the twelve aldermen in the city council were all from the East.[39] Probably foreigners were next in number, there being 2,256, or almost thirty per cent. of the total population, of foreign birth or parentage in 1843. The population of the city at that date was 7,580.[40] Of the foreign element one-third were Irish and the greater part of the remainder, German and Scandinavian.

Business houses had increased in importance as well as numbers;[41] new buildings were rapidly going up, and the number in the city had already nearly reached 1,400.[42] The valuation of city property was a matter of conjecture and estimates varied widely.[43]

Chicago had now become a shipping point of consequence. Previous to 1839 the city and the back country had been supplied with flour and other provisions from the East but in that year a vessel laden with seven hundred barrels of flour entered the port and was compelled to leave again without being able to dispose of her cargo.[44] The small consignment of wheat,

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[38] Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, 3, 265.

[39] Blanchard, *The Northwest and Chicago*, 1. 671.

[40] Norris and Gardner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 76.

[41] Macgregor, *Commercial Statistics*, 338. In 1840 there were four commercial houses with a capital of $35,000; ninety-seven retail stores, capital $400,000; eleven lumber yards, capital $40,000; four newspapers and three printing offices; two flour mills; one distillery and one furnace.

[42] Colbert and Chamberlain, *Chicago*, 56; two hundred and fifty-six stores of which thirty-seven were brick and eight hundred and eighty-four dwelling houses of which eight hundred and forty-two were frame.

[43] Blanchard, *The Northwest and Chicago*, 2, 17.

1843	$1,441,314
Parker, *Growth of Illinois and Chicago*, 19.	
1841	$1,967,445
1842	$1,530,213
1843	$1,570,490
Western Journal and Civilian, 12, 5.	
1840	$1,864,205
1841	$1,888,160
1842	$2,325,240
1843	$2,250,705

[44] *Niles' Register*, 74, 265.

(seventy-eight bushels) which was shipped from Chicago in 1838, was followed by 3,700 bushels in 1839. Rapidly this trade increased and during the early forties, great quantities of grain poured into the city from the surrounding country. In 1845, 1,000,000 bushels were exported and this amount was doubled in 1847.[45]

Probably the origin of this export trade in wheat can be traced to the failure of navigation on the Ohio and Upper Mississippi. Supplies could not be obtained at St. Louis in quantities large enough to supply all northern Illinois. Neither could they be obtained at Galena, the other supply point of the Upper Mississippi. As a consequence the farmers turned their faces towards Chicago in search of their winter supplies. Team after team wended its way to Chicago, carting loads of wheat, the great staple of the farmers. Having no money with which to buy supplies the farmers exchanged their produce for such ones as they needed and, since wheat was the most valuable agricultural product it became the medium of exchange for the farmer. Once trading at Chicago they found that, owing to better facilities for transportation, goods were not as high in price as in the towns along the river. By 1841 nearly all the farmers in Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin within a radius of two hundred and fifty miles carted their wheat to Chicago.[46] Before 1850 other articles of farm produce were shipped in considerable quantities. Lake commerce made rapid strides even during this unfavorable period and the export list which amounted to but $1,100 in 1836 had grown to over $680,000 in 1843. The amount of imports which was $325,200 in 1836 had increased to $971,850 in 1843 although in 1840 and 1841 it was considerably lower than in 1839.[47]

North of the Chicago River lay the residence district connected with the business portion by bridges and ferrys. Here pleasant residences surrounded by piazzas and gardens lined both sides of the streets. During the period of depression the citizens, despairing of ever seeing Chicago a great city, determined

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[45] *Eighth Census*, (1860), *Agriculture*, xlii.
[46] *Albany Argus*, Oct. 11, 1841.
[47] *De Bow's Review*, 5, 374.

to make it at least a pleasant one, and from the gardens which, one by one, sprang into existence came the name "Garden City."[48] Rows of trees separated the sidewalks from the streets and added much to the appearance. As yet the streets were not paved and many of them still had the green turf of prairie grass in the center.[49] In wet weather and in the early spring and fall they were often rendered impassable. It was even necessary for the men to attend social events in long boots and the ladies to take advantage of drays as a means of conveyance for as yet carriages were scarce in this western city.[50]

A system of waterworks was established in 1839 when a company was chartered to supply the city with water. A reservoir was erected on the lake shore and a pump installed. A twenty-five horse power engine drew the water from the lake into the reservoir and distributed it through the city by means of a pipe line composed of logs with a three to five inch bore.[51] Where the pipe line did not reach, water carts supplied the residents. This system was not replaced until 1851.

Such was Chicago in 1843. In spite of the disadvantages experienced during the years immediately preceding, the city had made rapid advance. Churches, hotels, school houses, libraries and a medical college had been established;[52] its commerce had materially increased as had trade with the interior; its population had increased in numbers and was no longer marked with such instability as had formerly characterized it and moreover speculation of the wilder kind had been effectually dampened. Everything seemed favorable for greater prosperity and more rapid growth.

During the period 1843–50 Chicago enjoyed a steady development. Its population which numbered 7,580 in 1843 had increased to over 28,000 by 1850,[53] and in the large percentage of foreigners present partook to an extent of the characteristics

[48] Colbert and Chamberlain, *Chicago*, 52.

[49] Moses and Kirkland, *Chicago*, 1. 105.

[50] Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, 3. 262.

[51] Sheahan and Upton, *The Great Conflagration*, 29.

[52] Balestier, *Annals of Chicago*, 32 in *Fergus Hist. Series*, 1; Norris and Gardner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 18–19.

[53] Andreas, *Chicago*, 1. 159.

of a seaboard city.[54] Speaking of this the Chicago correspondent of the *New York Tribune* says "of all the heterogeneous compounds that ever agreed to live neighbors, I think the like cannot be found this side of New York. It is only now and then a man, taken as they come, who can talk English without a 'rurr-r-r' to his tongue. Yet we get along very peaceably, each man having enough to do to attend to his own business without taking upon him the weight of other men's affairs."[55]

Business increased rapidly as did manufacturing industries and commerce, property valuation rising proportionately.[56] The manufacturing establishments numbered one hundred and seventy-seven and employed 14,000 men,[57] of these concerns the McCormick Reaper Works probably became of greatest importance. City property was valued at from seven to eight millions of dollars.[58]

By means of commerce more than by other means was Chicago now able to lay claims to importance. In 1836 the harbor of Chicago received four hundred and fifty-six vessels, bringing goods valued at something over $325,000; exports for the year amounted to but $1,100. The following decade wrought a wondrous change. In 1846 the vessels arriving at Chicago and leaving numbered 2,790[59] and carried merchandise valued at $4,938,000.[60] The products of the richest agricultural portion of Illinois poured into the city bound for the East; wheat, flour, corn, oats and meat being the leading products. In 1836 not a bushel of wheat was exported. In 1840 there were only 10,000 bushels, but in 1848 the amount exported was 2,160,000

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[54] *Prairie Farmer*, 9, 220.

[55] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1845.

[56] *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, (18, 171) gives the following list of business houses; twenty-eight commission houses; eleven clothing houses; seven drug stores; eight dry goods stores; sixty-four wholesale and retail dry grocery stores; sixty-three retail grocery stores; four hat and cap stores; twenty-three hotels; ten newspapers; twelve or fifteen insurance agencies; fifteen lumber dealers besides others. This was in 1845.

[57] *Industrial Chicago*, 3, 585.

[58] Parker, *Growth of Illinois and Chicago*, (19,) estimates the property at $7,222,999; Blanchard, *The Northwest and Chicago*, (2, 17) places it at the same figure. *Western Journal and Civilian* (12, 5) gives it as $8,101,000.

[59] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 18, 171.

[60] *De Bow's Review*, 5, 374.

bushels, some of which went directly to Europe.[61] In the beef and lumber trade Chicago was equally as important, becoming, by 1850, the foremost market in the country in the amount of meat and lumber handled.[62]

Chicago had grown with such wonderful rapidity both in population and commercial importance that in the struggle for wealth little attention had been paid to city improvements such as lighting the streets, paving them, providing proper supplies of water or proper sanitary arrangements. Criticisms unfavorable in the extreme are abundant. For example one writer says concerning drainage "the flat of the town is so level that it cannot be drained. The rain soaks in and dries up. It is a dry spell now but the deep gutters at the sides of the streets have yet abundant pools of green stagnant water. In a wet spell the depth of the mud depends entirely upon the specific gravity of the object fathoming it. There are no pavements for there is not a stone as large as a bullet in the whole country. The sidewalks are laid with plank and the cross walks with timbers. In the absence of mud there is a dust as fine as flour and some twelve inches or more in depth which is set in motion by every breeze and by the vehicles which plough through it. The water from the wells is a filtration through this mud. The inhabitants say they use lake water brought in by a hydrant but the article I have seen is very different from what we used on board the boat. It is decidedly dirty in its appearance and its taste also, a very essence of fever and ague. . . . Upon the whole, Chicago is about the last place a stranger would fancy as a place of residence."[63]

Another says, "it was a rickety city of frame shanties . . . inhabited by a pushing, hustling, lively people, shut off as one looks at it now, from half the privileges and enjoyments that make life endurable."[64]

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[61] First cargo of wheat bound for England left Chicago in 1847. (*American Agriculturist*, **6**, 226.)

[62] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 51; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, (**18**, 169) states that 7,550,000 feet of planks were handled in 1843, and 100,368,000 feet in 1850; Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, (45) gives the amount for 1850 as 175,000,000 feet.

[63] *Prairie Farmer*, **7**, 260. (Extract from the *Utica (N. Y.) Gazette*, 1847.)

[64] Van Dorn, *View of Chicago in 1848*, in *Magazine of Western History*, **10**, 42.

Its position among the cities of the country once established, Chicago citizens began to look to local improvements. The old frame buildings thrown together in the shortest possible time rapidly gave way to more substantial brick edifices, in keeping with the times. Previous to 1844 the city had practically been at a loss to provide school houses for the children, being dependent principally upon renting such rooms as could be fitted up for the purpose. When, a few years later, one alderman had persisted in obtaining an appropriation and building a school-house, the people indignantly called it "Miltimore's Folly" on account of the supposedly enormous expenditures of money for an object the wisdom of which was questioned. The mayor ridiculed the extravagance of the venture for it would accommodate more children, he said, than would ever be in Chicago. Moreover, he suggested that it be turned into an asylum for the insane.[65] A change came about, however, and a traveler through the city in 1850 says "the greatest ornament of Chicago is its Primary Schools,—its common or free school edifices are the best buildings for that purpose I have even seen in any city."[66]

Churches, too, shared in the increased prosperity. From cramped quarters occupied in the earlier years of the decade, these churches had come to occupy more elegant and spacious ones. Gothic architecture and stained glass windows had supplanted deserted warehouses and small frame buildings as places of worship,[67] and in 1850 the property of the twenty-nine churches in Chicago was valued at $273,000.[68]

In 1850 the Chicago Gas Light and Coke Company was organized and secured a contract to furnish gas light to the city for ten years.[69] The police force was also enlarged, one man being assigned to each of the nine wards.[70]

Communication with the interior was improved. In the early spring the low prairies around Chicago were well-nigh impassable for teams and this condition operated to the detri-

[65] Binckley, *Chicago of the Thinker*, in *Lakeside*, 10, 261.
[66] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 59.
[67] *Ibid.*, 306.
[68] *Compendium* of the *Seventh Census* (1850), 140.
[69] Colbert and Chamberlain, *Chicago*, 69.
[70] Flinn and Wilkie, *Chicago Police*, 58.

ment of the city people as well as the farmers in the interior. To overcome this difficulty substantial "plank roads" were constructed in every direction at a cost of from $1,000 to $1,500 per mile and kept in repair by the tolls collected. Although this was but one and one-half cents per mile the roads paid dividends ranging from fifteen to forty per cent. annually.[71] To add to the facility of communication with the back country, the Illinois and Michigan canal was opened for traffic in 1848, as was part of the Galena and Chicago Union railroad a year later. For a time it seemed as if these additional lines of transportation operated to the detriment of Chicago, especially in the retail trade for it tended to draw the retail dealers nearer to their customers. This loss, however, was rapidly supplanted by a gain in the wholesale trade,[72] for around the city grew up many smaller settlements which looked to Chicago as their supply depot.

Of the thousands of acres of land sold at the Chicago Land Office during the decade 1841 to 1850 much was close to the city and little fell into the hands of speculators. This latter fact aided in the settlement of the vicinity. Of the small towns in the immediate neighborhood of the city, Jefferson was settled in 1830,[73] Oak Park in 1833,[74] Norwood Park in 1834,[75] Blue Island in 1835,[76] Evanston in 1836,[77] Lake View in 1844[78] and Hyde Park in 1848.[79] By 1845 there were in Cook county twenty-two settlements besides Chicago, and twelve of these claimed five hundred or more inhabitants each.[80] The population of the entire county was 43,385 in 1850.[81]

The development of Chicago must be called wonderful rather than typical of the westward movement. During the early years of its existence, while it passed through the 'log cabin'

[71] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 52.
[72] *Ibid.*, 52.
[73] Andreas, *Cook County*, 744.
[74] *Ibid.*, 782.
[75] *Ibid.*, 477.
[76] *Ibid.*, 629.
[77] *Ibid.*, 417.
[78] *Ibid.*, 708.
[79] *Ibid.*, 607.
[80] *Ibid.*, 341.
[81] *Seventh Census*, (1850), 701.

stage of development the growth may be safely called typical of the growth of the West. Slowly the settlers came at first and in the accounts of travelers can be found the incidents which prove the frontier characteristics of the village. The years of booming and speculation came during the period 1833–37; steam navigation upon the lakes made the village a port of importance; the land fever gave aid to an unnatural growth but Chicago still remained a village for the lack of substantial support. The financial revulsion of 1837 checked the growth of the town as well as the state but with the return of confidence in the early forties Chicago again came to life, this time to enjoy a steady growth in numbers and in prosperity and to take advantage of its location.

At this date it appears that no longer can Chicago be taken as a type of western frontier towns but from this time on one must look to physiographic conditions for an explanation of its wonderful growth. As yet railroads had not penetrated the great agricultural fields of the West, but there was nevertheless a demand for markets for produce and these markets were in the East. During the decade 1841 to 1850 the prairies of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin were filling up rapidly and ever increasing fields of wheat, oats and corn ripened with each autumn. The increased number of settlers meant an increased demand for lumber and supplies of all kinds and Chicago, situated at the terminus of the great highway of communication with the East naturally attracted farmers by thousands, who came to exchange their farm products for the products of the East.

Chicago's growth was now substantial and normal because of its situation at the gateway of commerce. The great West, with its ever increasing wealth of agricultural products, was its storehouse; the East was its market and the city, being the favored point of collection and distribution, the connecting link between East and West, was destined to grow in wealth and power with the increasing demands of producer and consumer. Still greater possibilities were to open up when during the fifties the railroads were to radiate from the city to various points of the rich farming lands around the lakes, greatly increasing the area of influence of the rapidly growing metropolis. Primar-

ily a commercial city, for a time, to commerce must be attributed the development, but soon manufactures grew up to add to wealth and industry and in this departure may be seen still another cause for growth.

Another point must next claim attention—the character of the population. Here also is seen the influence of transportation routes. The line of the Great Lakes was the connecting link between the West and the seaports of the Northwest and along this great highway came many foreigners, who, desirous of making their homes in the interior, took the easiest road thither and came to the best known port. The result is seen in the fact that one-third of Chicago's population was of foreign descent. Moreover, New Yorkers and New Englanders abounded in the city and vicinity, probably for the same reason.

In a word, it appears that Chicago is the result of physiographic influences, its favorable location allowing it to profit by the influences of the interaction of the agricultural West and the manufacturing East. Its location at the terminus of the great line of communication with the East, thus becoming both a distributing and a collecting point for an exceedingly wealthy back country gave it the permanent foundation upon which to build its industrial life.[82]

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[82] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, (9, 31) prints an article in 1843, discussing the claims to future greatness of the cities of the section. The writer offers evidence to show that it will lie on the Great Lakes rather than on the Ohio river, but he decides in favor of the location at the mouth of the Maumee, rather than Chicago. The article is of interest as showing the difficulty of contemporaneous estimate of the condition which produced Chicago's ascendency.

CHAPTER XI

Foreign Element in the Population of Illinois

Immigration first assumed large proportions during the decade 1831-1840 and increased progressively during the next twenty years, being relatively greater in proportion to the native population than at any other period.[1] Just what percentage of the immigrants to the United States found their way to the Mississippi valley is difficult to determine as the estimates of the writers vary considerably and census statistics are not available before 1850.[2]

In 1850 Illinois had a population of 851,500 and of this number 110,600 were foreigners.[3] Owing to the fact that Illinois was still a new state with an abundance of fertile land yet unclaimed in 1830, when European emigration began to become of some consequence, and that the state was situated at the terminus of the northern route of travel over the Great Lakes, it is natural to expect that it would have a considerable and varied foreign population and this is the case.

In selecting places for settlement there were decided preferences displayed by the various nationalities. The Germans, naturally, inclining towards agriculture were most frequently found in the agricultural districts; the Irish seem to have stayed in the cities or to have served as laborers along the lines of communication although an example of agricultural pursuits

[1] McLaughlin, *The Immigrant, Past and Present*, in *The Popular Science Monthly*, July, 1904, 225.

[2] One writer says thata seventy-five of every hundred continental immigrants to the United States went west, but only twenty-five of every hundred Irish and English went west. (*Walker, Mississippi Valley*, 347.) Another says that one-third the total immigration located in the West. (*Edinburgh Review*, **100**, 242.)

[3] *Seventh Census* (1850), 36.

adopted by Irishmen is to be had in the country along the lines of the Illinois and Michigan canal. When the work on the canal stopped in the early forties the Irish laborers turned their attention to agriculture, some of them following it permanently.

The English, Scotch, French and Swedes also inclined towards agricultural pursuits. Generally speaking the foreigners tended to settle together in localities apart from the other settlers and to maintain their national language and customs as long as possible. This tendency is displayed even today in both the country and the large cities. As time went on, however, the intermixture of Americans and foreigners became frequent, and as the country became more and more densely settled it was impossible for the various nationalities to avoid contact and in many counties the varied composition of population suggests an indiscriminate throwing together of representatives of a dozen nationalities.

The lead region affords an excellent example. One traveler speaking of the district and its inhabitants says: "The miners are the most wonderful mixture of humanity that ever I beheld; they are from all parts of the world but chiefly from Ireland, Derbyshire, Cornwall and Germany."[4] Still another says concerning the same district, "I visited Galena in 1829 and found a most singular and mysterious medley of people located in that place. People from all quarters of the earth had flocked there on account of the celebrity of the lead mines."[5] In 1843 about thirty per cent. of Chicago's population were foreigners[6] and by 1850 fully one-third were of foreign birth.[7] One-third of the votes in Peoria in the election of 1849 were cast by foreigners.[8] Almost twenty-five per cent., of the population of Freeport in 1850 were foreigners.[9] "In all

[4] Murray, *Travels in North America* (1854), 2, 129.

[5] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 168.

[6] Norris and Gardiner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 76; population of Chicago, 7,580; of these 2,256 were foreign. The Germans and Irish together numbered about 1,600. They were nearly equally divided.

[7] *Prairie Farmer*, 9, 220.

[8] Ballance, *Peoria*, 201. The total vote was 1,324. Foreigners cast four hundred and thirty-five of these. Germans and Irish were most numerous.

[9] Johnston, *Sketches of Stephenson County*, 94. Population of Freeport 1,436—foreigners, 352.

the large cities and towns of Illinois, Europeans, mostly Germans and Irish, have located to a considerable number within the last fifteen or twenty years and in some localities the number far exceeds the native Americans,"[10] says Reynolds in his history of Illinois and the statement does not appear to be overdrawn.

These conditions appear true also for the parts of the state outside the cities. Take for example Kane county. The local historian says, "There is probably no county in Illinois that has accumulated its population from such varied sources as has Kane county. From first to last there have been no less than ten distinct and separate nationalities which have furnished not individuals only but colonies, who have made their settlements in the borders of the staunch old county."[11] These examples do not, however, seem to be exceptional cases.

Germans were the most numerous of the foreigners in Illinois in 1850, composing over one-third of the foreign population of the state.[12] Economic, political, and religious influences were at work in the fatherland causing a tide of migration from all parts of the country to America.[13] Once in America the cheap land of the fertile Mississippi Valley was an inducement sufficient to bring the Germans westward and the line of transportation over the lakes directed the course of the stream to the Chicago gateway of the Illinois prairies.

Religious unrest was one cause for German emigration. A reorganization of the Lutheran church had taken place in the later thirties and the ruling Hohenzollerns had ordered all subjects to conform to the new belief. Penalties were threatened for those who refused. Imprisonment, confiscation of property

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[10] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 184.

[11] *Past and Present of Kane County*, 222.

[12] *Seventh Census*, (1850), xxxvi.

[13] Emigrants came from Luxemburg (Mrs. Levi, *Geographical Origin of the German Immigration to Wisconsin*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **14**, 377); Pomerania, (*Ibid.*, **14**, 349); Prussia, (*Madison Enquirer*, Oct. 26, 1839); Hesse, (*Wiskonsan Enquirer*, July 28, 1842); Bavaria, (*Schriften des Vereins für Social Politik*, **52**, 90); Baden and Wartenburg, (Rahr, *German Immigration to the United States, 1840-1850*, 15, (*MS.* Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1903); Baltic Countries, (Mrs. Levi, *German Immigration*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **14**, 349); Rhine districts (*Littel's Living Age*, **11**, 201); and from the region of the Black Forest (*Niles' Register*, **72**, 392).

and allied persecutions were practised to such an extent that many left their native land.[14]

Political grievances, too, were of importance all through this period. The unsuccessful attempts to obtain more liberal constitutions, coming immediately after the July Revolution of 1830 in France, had not left the minds of the people in peace, and many had emigrated. Gradually the movement gathered strength for a new out-break against the bonds of absolutism. The attempt was made for a more liberal government in 1848, but it failed. The result is seen in the emigration of the "Forty-eighters."

Greatest of all the influences, however, were those of an economic nature, and to these is due the increase of German emigrants in the decade 1841–1850. The small hand industries which for years had been a means by which the poorer Germans were enabled to make livings were now being beaten down by competition arising from the introduction of machinery.[15] The evils of over-production and of over-population were at work. Subdivision of the land had gone on to a great extent and so small were the little plots of ground held by each peasant that it was with difficulty that the poor people eked out a bare existence. In normal years, at the best only a few potatoes, a little corn, oats, clover and hay could be raised by the peasants, and even well-to-do farmers subsisted on milk, potatoes and corn bread.[16]

When crops failed these poor peasants were destitute. During the early years of the decade crops were good but beginning with the extremely severe winter of 1844 and 1845 a change came. In that winter many of the vineyards were destroyed[17] and in the following spring floods in the valleys of the Rhine, Moselle, Main, Neckar, Danube, Elbe and Vistula rivers materially interfered with agriculture.[18] Moreover the potato crop failed, causing a correspondingly large increase in the price of bread stuffs and making it exceedingly difficult for the peasants

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[14] *Madison Enquirer*, Oct. 26, 1839.

[15] See references in note 13 above.

[16] Rahr, *German Immigration*, 14 (*MS.* Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1903).

[17] *Niles' Register*, 68, 145.

[18] Rahr, *German Immigration*, 15 (*MS.* Thesis, University of Wisconsin 1903).

to gain a livelihood. The severity of the famine increased in 1846[19] and the cold winter following added misery to the lot of the peasants. In many places the wealthy class was compelled to provide for the poor, to keep them from starving.[20]

During these years the agents of transportation companies were busy among the people. They were well dressed and well supplied with money and told wondrous stories of wealth to be easily acquired in America, of political freedom, light taxes and easy government.

Resulting from these influences were such ventures as the *Geissner Gesellschaft* which had a plan to organize a German community in America as a state of the Union while retaining its German characteristics.[21] Besides the organized colonies which emigrated to America, thousands of Germans came singly or in groups of two or three families and by 1850 there were in Illinois over 38,000.[22]

Before 1830 there seem to have been few communities of Germans in the state but in the following years a rapid increase took place. The earliest settlements were probably at Dutch Hollow in St. Clair county and at Vandalia in Fayette county.[23] During the years 1831, 1832 and 1833 frequent additions were made to the settlement in St. Clair county. The village of Darmstadt marks the location of a colony of well-to-do agriculturists and tradesmen which sprang up in 1832. The so-called 'immigration of 1833' brought a number of highly-educated Germans to this portion of the state giving the name *Lateiner* settlement to the community. In 1837, the German settlers formed forty per cent. of the population of the township.[24]

In Effingham county on the southern edge of the prairie district was another center of German settlement. A stock company was formed by some Cincinnati Germans and a site for a town was selected touching on the National Road in the

[19] *Niles' Register*, 72, 392.

[20] *The Harbinger*, 2, 287.

[21] Körner, *Das Deutsche Element*, 300.

[22] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi.

[23] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 349; Köpfli, S., and Eggen, J., *Die Schweizer-Kolonie Highland in Illinois* in *Deutsche-Amerikanische Geschichts-Blätter*, April–July, 1906.

[24] *History of St. Clair County*, 64.

above named county. The first settlers came in 1838,[25] and were soon joined by others from Cincinnati and Germany. In 1840 there were ninety families in and around Teutopolis, the most important settlement.[26] In the nearby townships there were scattered German settlements.[27]

German communities were scattered here and there along the Illinois river before 1850. One of the early settlements began in 1833 in Woodford county and increased steadily.[28] Another German community was established in Peoria about 1835;[29] it formed almost one-sixth of the voting population of the town in 1850.[30] During the latter half of the thirties a considerable colony congregated at Havana, in Mason county.[31] A few years later another settlement of Germans began at Bath in the same county.[32] At Perry in Pike county there was a German settlement of some importance before 1850,[33] and in La Salle county the German population was large enough to support three churches.[34] It appears that the above named settlements were not the result of colonies organized in Germany, but that the settlers came in smaller groups from the older settlements at Cincinnati and St. Louis. After the political troubles in Germany in 1848 the German population was generally derived directly from Europe and the increase was more rapid.

In the northeastern and northern counties of the state the Germans settled more frequently than in the southern counties. Wishing to follow agriculture, they were attracted by the rich prairie lands of the northern and eastern part of the state. A convenient line of communication also helped to turn the swarm of immigrants to Chicago, whence it scattered over the surrounding country. Cook, Lake, Du Page and Kane counties received German settlers in numbers sufficiently large nearly to crowd

[25] Perrin, *History of Effingham County*, 251.
[26] Salsbacher, *Meine Reise nach der Vereinigten Staaten*, 229, note 2.
[27] Perrin, *History of Effingham County*, 147, 230.
[28] *History of Woodford County*, 368.
[29] *History of Peoria County*, 489.
[30] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Jan., 1901, 22.
[31] *History of Menard and Mason Counties*, 509.
[32] *Ibid.*, 576.
[33] *History of Pike County*, 474.
[34] Baldwin, *History of La Salle County*, 533.

out the original settlers. After 1848 the numbers increased rapidly, especially in Kane and Will counties, Aurora[35] and Elgin[36] in the former county being the chief centers of German settlement. The settlements in Will county date from 1846 and the success and growth of the communities seems due to the efforts of Conrad Tatge. During the years immediately following, most of the government railroad lands were bought up by Germans and soon those lands held by speculators also came under their control.[37]

In the Rock river valley there were but three German settlements of any importance before 1850—Oregon in Ogle county,[38] Dixon in Lee county,[39] and Freeport in Stephenson county.[40] Of these Freeport was the most important; foreigners composed one-fourth of the population of the town and the German element was by far the most numerous. A short distance north of the town was another community of Germans located in Ridott township.[41]

At Galena in Jo Daviess county,[42] Warsaw in Hancock county[43] and Quincy[44] and Melrose[45] in Adams county were the chief German communities of that portion of the state bordering on the Mississippi river. The settlements were, however, not large in 1850, the greater part of the present German population having come at a later date.

Other settlements of Germans in all probability existed in Illinois but since mention is not made of them in local histories, it seems safe to conclude that in 1850 at least, they were of no great importance.

As a class the Germans were desirable settlers owing to their quiet, sober, steady habits, their ability and industry. Those

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[35] *Past and Present of Kane County*, 236.
[36] *Chicago Republican*, Mar. 16, 1867.
[37] *History of Will County*, 559.
[38] *History of Ogle County*, 489.
[39] *History of Lee County*, 177–185.
[40] Johnston, *Sketches of Stephenson County*, 94.
[41] *History of Stephenson County*, 283.
[42] Rodolf, *Pioneering in the Wisconsin Lead Region*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, 15, 350.
[43] *History of Hancock County*, 638.
[44] Asbury, *Quincy*, 103–106.
[45] *History of Adams County*, 540.

who came without money to buy land hired themselves out to landowners and were contented to serve as laborers until they had learned the industry and acquired enough capital to make purchases for themselves. They applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, not as adventurers for the sake of experiment, but as farmers who meant to keep possession of it. They brought with them the same patient laborious habits which had distinguished them in their native land and as a consequence the settlements made, while retaining the characteristics of the fatherland to some extent, were models of well-ordered industry. The head of the family worked, the children worked and the women worked, too, often as hard as the men, sharing the men's labors in the fields; for the German 'although not destitute of romance was far from believing that women were made only to be ornamental.'[46] Following this rule it was not long before each of these German families owned not only its dwellings but the land upon which they stood.

While agricultural in their tastes the Germans were often found in the cities, Chicago especially having quite a large German population. It will be remembered that many of the early German settlers came by way of the Great Lakes, landing at Chicago. Few of these had money to spare, some had none at all. In the latter case they were unable to buy land but the industries of the city afforded abundant opportunities for making good wages and many a German remained here hoping by thrift soon to acquire enough capital to carry out his pet scheme —to buy a farm. Living was high in the city, money accumulated slowly, land rose rapidly in value and the would-be farmer gradually changed to a city man. Others came and the tendency to settle together manifesting itself, these later comers remained with their countrymen in the towns.

In politics the Germans were strongly democratic, even tending towards socialism. Their leading political newspapers called American democracy a mongrel affair. They were radical on questions of land reform and often led observers to believe they supported communism, apparently denying the right of private property and suggesting the experiment of a

[46] *Atlantic Monthly*, 32, 463.

general division of goods among the people. This was true especially about 1850, but probably did not fairly represent the feeling of the great body of Germans, since the editors of that time had but recently come from the revolutionary scenes of 1848.[47] However, it is probable that in spite of their tendencies toward radical political views and in spite of the fact that they attempted to an extent, at least, to retain the customs and language of their native land, the Germans were a valuable addition to the population of the state.

Causes for Irish immigration are not difficult to find: religious troubles,[48] oppressive tithes,[49] absentee landlords,[50] high rents,[51] poor wages,[52] poor cultivation of the soil, famines. The moral degradation and lack of education all combined to make the condition of the Irish peasant one of abject misery. Greatest among the causes were crop failures and famines. The years 1831, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1839 were ones of partial crop failure and the great famine of 1847 spread misery throughout the entire island. It is reported that during this year five and one-half millions of the population were dependent upon the charity of the rest of the population—about three million in number—for food.[53] Misery, destitution and sickness were prevalent as is shown by the writers of the time,[54] and a corresponding increase of Irish immigration to America resulted.[55]

The Irish upon landing in America tended to remain in the eastern cities, becoming day laborers or factory employes. When they left the cities it was generally to find work upon the lines of transportation then in the process of construction. A very small number devoted themselves to agricultural pur-

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[47] *Christian Examiner*, **51**, 355; Bruncken, in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings* (1901), 190.

[48] *Niles' Register*, **40**, 406.

[49] *Ibid.*, 406.

[50] *Dublin Review*, **1**, 281-313; **15**, 148-168; 317-363.

[51] *American Review*, **6**, 461, $15-$25 per acre.

[52] *Fortnightly Review*, **8**, 40.

[53] *American Review*, **6**, 637.

[54] *Blackwoods*, **64**, 477; *British Quarterly Review*, **5**, 524; Condon, *Irish Race in America*, 302; *Madison Express*, April 13, 1847. (Extract from *London Herald*. A letter written by a Mr. Shaw then in Ireland); *Niles' Register*, **23**, 5; **38**, 431; **40**, 455; **41**, 379, 448; *Western Journal and Civilian*, **6**, 247.

[55] Young, *Report on Immigration* (1872), 14, reports over 500,000 Irish landing in America during the years, 1847, 1848, 1849 and 1850.

suits for they were too poor to acquire land and, moreover, the unpleasant experiences of their native home made Irishmen skeptical concerning the possibilities of returns from this industry.

In 1850 there were almost 28,000 Irish in Illinois.[56] There were scattered settlements in the state before 1830, but the influx came when work was begun on the Illinois and Michigan canal, and for some time the greater portion of the Irish settlement of the state lay close to the canal. The work invited large bodies of laborers and naturally the Irish made their way in considerable numbers from the seaboard cities to this district where good wages and steady work seemed assured.[57] They were scattered all along the line, two hundred or more being at Peru[58] and La Salle[59] in La Salle county, some in Grundy county[60] and some in Will county.[61] In Chicago the largest number were gathered, there being almost eight hundred Irish in the city in 1843.[62] Nine per cent. of the voters of Peoria in 1849 were Irish.[63]

The course of events, however, operated in Illinois to change a number of Irish from laborers to farmers. The work on the canal progressed slowly for ten years. All sorts of expedients were resorted to by the state authorities to sustain the work. When money was no longer available the laborers were paid off in canal scrip which in consequence of the growing financial embarrassments of the state sank a great deal in value and at times was scarcely convertible at all. Much of this scrip was converted into land, however, and when work on the canal was for the time abandoned in the early forties many of the Irish laborers took up sections of land in the neighboring counties, or in other portions of the state; when they could be obtained town lots were taken. As a consequence the farming population of that part of the state immediately bordering the Illinois river

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[56] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi.
[57] Onahan, *Irish Settlements in Illinois*, in *Catholic World*, 33, 357.
[58] Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, 3, 222.
[59] Baldwin, *History of La Salle County*, 225–483.
[60] *History of Grundy county*, 143.
[61] *History of Will county*, 659–906.
[62] Norris and Gardiner, *Illinois Annual Register* (1847), 76.
[63] Ballance, *History of Peoria*, 201.

from Peoria northward and along the Illinois-Michigan canal is composed largely of Irish. Some Irish farmers are also found as far north as McHenry county.[64]

In Monroe county an Irish settlement began in 1844 and before the elapse of a decade more than three hundred families had congregated in this portion of the state.[65] At Dixon in Lee county,[66] at Quincy in Adams county[67] and at Galena in the lead region[68] were communities of Irish but they were not large.

As a class the Irish settlers were not so desirable as were the Germans. Their poverty, their faith and their early education made their immediate assimilation into the population of the state impossible.[69] Their mission in the early days seems to have been the construction of the internal improvements of the state. By their native adaptability to new surroundings the Irish seemed best fitted for city life and many settled in the cities, especially in Chicago. In speaking of the Irish settler a writer of the time says: "His weakness lies in success . . . for with ten dollars in his pocket he is abashed by nothing in Heaven, earth or Chicago."[70]

From England also there came many immigrants and for reasons similar to those causing the Irish immigration. Agricultural and industrial depression, enormous tithes, heavy taxes, poor wages and poor cultivation of the soil made the lot of the peasant class a hard one. Periods of rash speculation were followed by commercial crises which added their influence to that already operating to injure the peasant class and to increase dissatisfaction.

During the early thirties a general depression existed. "Landlords with mortgages or rent charges were ruined, tenants farming on borrowed capital became parish paupers, bankruptcies, seizures, executions and imprisonments for debt were prev-

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[64] Onahan, *Irish Settlements in Illinois*, in *Catholic World*, 33, 159–160.
[65] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 183.
[66] *History of Lee County*, 117–185.
[67] Asbury, *Quincy*, 103–106.
[68] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 168; Murray, *Travels in North America* (1854), 2, 129.
[69] *Metropolitan*, 4, 721.
[70] *Putnam's Magazine*, 4, 628.

alent; rents fell into arrears, tithes and poor rates remained unpaid; labor bills were reduced and improvements discontinued.''[71] Wages were exceedingly low,[72] artisans and farm hands sharing alike in the poor returns to labor. Tithes were exorbitant[73] and the taxes were equally heavy.[74]

The results of these conditions soon showed themselves in riots of a serious nature partly aimed at the wealthy classes and the clergy and partly to break up the new industrial development which had come with the introduction of machinery.[75] For a time reform legislation allayed the trouble but riots and disturbances broke out anew during the closing years of the decade 1831 to 1841, and continued till 1844.

With each renewed agitation the number of emigrants increased. Farmers, wishing better returns for their labor, artisans and professional men began to leave the country.[76] Clergymen urged their parishioners to emigrate to America where wages were good.[77] The London Roman Catholic Emigration Society hastened to complete preparations whereby various parties, each with its clergyman at its head might find new homes in America.[78] New agitations by the trade unions and the Chartists broke out to swell the numbers already crossing the ocean. In fact ''there probably never was a nation to which emigration on a great scale was more urgently suggested than to England in the middle of the nineteenth century.''[79] Although her wealth was increasing rapidly, so too was her population and the field for employment was constantly being confined to narrower limits, profits were diminished, rates of interest reduced and the ranks of the uneasy class were being constantly

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[71] Traill, *Social England*, 6, 211.

[72] Farm laborers received nine shillings per week, in haying time a trifle more. (*Niles' Register*, 39, 454); annual wages amounted to from twenty to twenty-one pounds for farm laborers, (*Ibid.*, 41, 321); artisans' wages were from fifty to sixty cents per week. (*Ibid.*, 42, 124.)

[73] In England 6,000,000 parishioners paid £8,896,000 tithes while 198,000,000 in other parts of the world paid but £8,852,000. (*Niles' Register*, 40, 160.)

[74] *Family Magazine*, 6, 416.

[75] Traill, *Social England*, 6, 211. *Niles' Register*, 39, 454–456.

[76] *Niles' Register*, 62, 400; *North British Review*, 18, 262.

[77] Placards posted throughout the country said that laboring men in America received from three to four dollars per day. (*The New Yorker*, June 17, 1837.)

[78] *Madison Express*, June 1, 1843.

[79] *North British Review*, 18, 259.

augmented. During the years 1845–1847 emigration to the United States doubled, which shows the dissatisfaction with conditions existing in the kingdom.[80]

Of this immigration a portion came west and in 1850 there were 18,600 English settlers in Illinois.[81] Settlements were made early at Albion,[82] Carlyle[83] and Prairie du Long.[84]

Shortly after the opening of the lead mines the Cornish began to settle there and grew rapidly in numbers.[85] At Nauvoo during the days of Joseph Smith a great number of English congregated. Missionaries sent to England by the Prophet never returned without a band of converts. In 1840 the first band came[86] and by 1844 it was estimated that of 16,000 saints then in and around Nauvoo, 10,000 were English.[87] Other settlements of less note were scattered over the state.[88]

As a class the English did not make good prairie pioneers for they knew little of agriculture as it was carried on in the great western country, and of all immigrants they experienced the most difficulty in settling down and yielding themselves to the conditions of a new country. Their minds were hampered with prejudices in favor of the customs and habits of the mother country, which, combined with the lack of those qualities which make good pioneers, kept the English from being classed with the successful settlers of the new country.[89]

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[80] Young, *Report on Immigration* (1872), 12.

[81] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi.

[82] Flower, *English Settlements in Edwards Co. Ill.*, 147.

[83] *Ibid.*, 163.

[84] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 349.

[85] Copeland, *The Cornish in Southwestern Wisconsin*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, 14, 305.

[86] Smith and Smith, *Latter Day Saints*, 2, 450.

[87] Lewis, *Impressions of America*, 265. See also Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 59; *Cincinnati Chronicle*, Aug. 26, 1840; Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 219; *New York Weekly Herald*, April 9, 1842; *Niles' Register*, 69, 144; 60, 304; 63, 400; 64, 96.

[88] Settlements were made at: Rockton, Winnebago county (Carr. *Rockton*, 16); Butler's Point, Vermilion county (Beckwith, *Vermilion Co.*, 640); Dixon, Lee county (*History of Lee County*, 177-185); La Salle, La Salle county (Baldwin, *La Salle County*, 225-483); Peoria (Ballance, *History of Peoria*, 201); Ridott township, Stephenson county (*History of Stephenson County*, 268); Will county (*History of Will County*, 659-906); McHenry county (*History of McHenry County*, 637).

[89] Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America*, 2, 163.

Economic causes operated in Scotland after 1830 to cause emigration. The growth of the wool industry compelled many of the peasant class to leave the country during the decade 1831–1840.[90] The famine of 1847 rendered many others destitute and aided in increasing emigration.[91] In 1834 they began to come to Illinois and formed little settlements throughout that part of the state north of Peoria.[92] By 1850 there were 4,660 Scotch in Illinois.[93] As citizens in the new country they were well thought of on account of their frugality, sobriety and industry. As agriculturists they ranked high, it being estimated that seven of every twelve families succeeded.[94]

Scandinavian immigration to the United States was slight indeed before 1830 but by 1850 there were settled in Illinois some 3,500 people of this nationality.[95] The first Norwegians settling in Illinois came from New York in 1834.[96] They settled at La Salle and Ottawa and at other points in the Fox river valley.[97] The most interesting Scandinavian settlement in the state was the Bishop Hill Colony in Henry county. Owing to religious difficulties at home five hundred left for America in 1846 and settled in the above named county. By 1848 the settlement numbered 1,200 souls and continued to flourish for some years after 1850.[98] Various other settlements were scattered about the state at this date.[99]

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[90] *Niles' Register*, **40**, 93.

[91] *Littel's Living Age*, **13**, 97.

[92] Settlements were made at: Argyle, Winnebago county (*History of Winnebago County*, 454); Dundee, Kane county (*History of Kane County*, 230): Will county (*History of Will County*, 242, 659–906); La Salle county (Baldwin, *La Salle County*, 225–483); Peoria (Ballance, *Peoria*, 201).

[93] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi.

[94] Collins, *Emigrants' Guide*, 77.

[95] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi.

[96] Baldwin, *La Salle County*, 164.

[97] *Historical Magazine*, **2**, 202.

[98] Mikkelson, *Bishop Hill Colony*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, **10**; Bigelow, *Bishop Hill Colony*, in *Transactions* of the Illinois Historical Society, (1902); *Niles' Register*, **72**, 260; Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, **2**, 67.

[99] Beaver Creek, Iroquois county (Anderson, *Norwegian Immigration*, 200, and Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, **1**, 129); Rock Run, Stephenson county, (*Ibid.*, **1**, 132; *History of Stephenson County*, 255); Nettle Creek, Grundy county (*History of Grundy County*, 287); Mercer county (Reynolds, *Illinois*, 183); Lee county (*History of Lee County*, 767): Princeton, Bureau county, (*Taxpayers and Voters of Bureau County*, 133); Andover, Henry county (Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, **1**, 217); Moline, Rock Island county (*Ibid.*, **1**, 217); Galesburg, Knox county (*Ibid.*, **1**, 217).

French, Swiss, Portuguese, Poles, Welsh, Spanish, Belgians, Dutch, Italians, Austrians, Danes, Greeks, Mexicans, West Indians, Hawaiians, South Americans and even Chinese were represented in Illinois in 1850.[100] Of these nationalities the French were the most numerous. When the Americans first came to Illinois the French settlements along the American Bottom and at Peoria were practically the only ones in the territory. The Americans with their new ways and ideas of government and law caused such wonder and even distrust among this simple people that many moved away. Those remaining assumed by degrees the American manners and language, but became of less importance politically and socially as the American settlers increased in number. Few indeed were the French immigrants before 1830 and at no time during our period did the annual immigration to the United States number 10,000 save in the years 1846 and 1847.[101] During the early days in the northern part of the state lone French-Canadian cabins were often found along the rivers, inhabited by traders in the employ of the American Fur Company.

The first French colony of any importance to be established in Illinois after 1830 was at Metamora, Woodford county, in 1831.[102] In 1837 another was established by the Piquet brothers at Saint Marie, Jasper county. The colony numbered twenty-five persons and owned 12,000 acres of land.[103] An interesting colony of French was located in Hancock county where three hundred followers of Cabet lived in the old Mormon town of Nauvoo. Coming to Illinois in 1849 they remained there for several years seemingly enjoying prosperity but internal troubles finally broke up the settlement.[104] In Kankakee county there was a cluster of French-Canadian settlements, chief among which was Bourbonnais, which had a population of 1,719 in 1850.[105] Here the old Canadian customs were maintained for

[100] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi.

[101] Young, *Report on Immigration* (1872), 12-16.

[102] *History of Woodford County*, 268, 368.

[103] *History of Cumberland, Jasper and Richland Counties*, 484.

[104] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 372; *Open Court*, August 28, 1890; Hinds, *American Communities;* Shaw, *Icaria;* Hillquit, *Socialism in the United States*.

[105] *Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi; Campbell, *Bourbonnais* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1906).

years. The other settlements in the state were of lesser importance.[106]

Swiss settlements in the state were few. A general business stagnation in 1844 caused a considerable number of Swiss to leave their native land.[107] In 1815 a Swiss colony from Neufchatel had established itself at Dutch Hill in St. Clair county.[108] A portion of Lord Selkirk's Red River colony settled at Galena in 1826.[109] In Madison county near Highland another colony was begun in 1831. It grew slowly until 1844 when over one hundred colonists were added making it the most important center of Swiss settlement in the state.[110]

Two Portuguese colonies, one near Springfield and one near Jacksonville were interesting additions to the population of Illinois in 1849. Exiled from the island of Madiera in 1847 owing to religious differences with the Catholic rulers, they landed on the island of Trinidad, from which a number came to the United States subsequently settling in Illinois. It is difficult to state the number of people composing the colonies accurately.[111]

Of other nationalities but few representatives were in the state. A Polish settlement was planned early in the thirties and a grant of land obtained on the Rock river, but the colony never materialized. There were, however, a few Poles in the state.[112] In Kane county a considerable Welsh population grew up after

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[106] Settlements were made at: Peoria (Ballance, *Peoria*, 201): Dixon, Lee county (*History of Lee County*, 117–185); Rockton, Winnebago county (Carr, *Rockton*, 16); Will county (*History of Will County*, 659–906); Iroquois county (Beckwith, *Iroquois County*, 336).

[107] Luchsinger, *New Glarus*, in Wis. Hist. *Collections*, **12**, 340.

[108] *History of St. Clair County*, 62.

[109] Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, 6.

[110] Steinach, *Schweizer Kolonien*, 248, Newbauer, Miss., *The Swiss Settlements in Madison county, Illinois* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1906).

[111] Number placed at forty-two (*Seventh Census* (1850), xxxvi,) *History of Sangamon County*, 578, says, "On the 19th of October, 1849, nearly three hundred left New York for their new homes in Illinois": Reynolds, *Illinois*, 183, "I presume the whole would amount to five or six hundred souls": *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Jan. 1, 1904, 32, "Und von dort wurden in Jahre 1849 gegen 300 . . . nach Illinois gebracht."

[112] Beckwith, *Vermilion County*, 763.

1836.[113] Chicago had a colony of Bavarian Jews.[114] and probably in this city could have been found the few Mexicans, Italians, Austrians and others which are enumerated in the census of 1850.

To the influence of cheap land and easy communication, it seems, can be traced the cause for the foreign population of northern Illinois. When immigration from European countries had reached large numbers the lakes were navigated by steam and afforded easy access to the interior of the continent. As a general rule the immigrants were of the lower classes of European society and had little money to spend. Those who wished to become farmers needed land, and lack of money necessitated cheap land, which lay in the West. The great port at the end of the lakes was Chicago, the doorway to the prairies where government lands could be had in abundance at exceedingly low prices. Towards this city the immigrant made his way as an examination of the population of the counties around Chicago will show.

Other influences were probably at work also. The greater part of the immigration to the United States was from northern Europe and in the minds of the people was a well grounded dislike for the institution of slavery owing to the competition arising from it in fields of labor. To this influence can be attributed the fact that little of the cheap land of the Southwest was taken up by foreigners. The climate may also have operated to turn the stream of immigration northward, for in the northern states was found a climate more nearly corresponding to that of northern Europe and consequently more to the liking of the immigrants, for here crops could be raised similar to those raised at home.

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[113] *History of Kane County*, 228.

[114] *Historical Magazine*, 7, 346.

CHAPTER XII

The Mormons in Illinois

The decade 1841–50 in the history of Illinois settlement is particularly and peculiarly interesting owing to the foundation of several settlements, within the limits of the state, whose impelling motive was either religion or a desire to build up a new and reformed social structure. First in order of time came the Mormons, a sect believing themselves thoroughly imbued with the true religion and wishing, by taking up their abodes within the limits of friendly Illinois, to escape the persecution which had followed them from place to place.

It is not necessary to speak of the doctrines of the Mormon church which have made this institution a source of suspicion and distrust to society in general and of hatred to those who have come into direct opposition to its members. Of its early history little need be said save that after the discovery of the Golden Plates by Joseph Smith the prophet, the church grew with rapidity. A permanent settlement was not to be founded however, since the people who were compelled to live as neighbors of the Latter Day Saints looked upon them with a feeling of aversion.

First settling in Ohio, they afterwards moved to Missouri where they lived in peace for a short space of time. Here again, after accumulating much property and bringing their lands to a high state of cultivation, they were driven from their homes by the Missourians, who, incensed by thefts and robberies committed in the neighborhood of the Mormon colony, did not stop to inquire into causes or to seek out the guilty ones but in the midst of the winter of 1838–39 fell upon the settlement and expelled the whole church from the state. In the dead of winter,

suffering from hunger, cold and sickness, numerous families set out on foot walking the entire distance to Illinois.[1] Others, by virtue of a treaty made with the men of Missouri, were allowed to stay until spring. They offered their lands for sale at small prices and even bartered farms for wagons and teams[2] by means of which to convey their families out of the state.

In the spring of 1839, the main body of the Saints arrived in Illinois where they told tales of persecution and privation which, linked with the spectacle of utter destitution and wretchedness which they presented upon arriving, awakened the warmest sympathy among the citizens[3] of Hancock county where they landed. Great hospitality and kindness were shown them by the Illinoisans.

The town of Venus, later called Commerce, containing a few hundred inhabitants,[4] and occupying one of the most beautiful sites on the Mississippi river was the destination of the Mormon emigrants. Here they settled to the number of 5,000[5] and changing the name of Commerce to Nauvoo, which, according to the Prophet means in the Hebrew ''the beautiful,'' they began to build their habitations. They were soon located at different points all over Hancock county and to some extent through the adjoining counties of Pike, Schuyler, McDonough, Henderson and Warren. The largest settlements outside of Nauvoo were at LaHarpe, Plymouth, Macedonia, Green Plains and Montebello—all in Hancock county.[6] Besides land purchased in Illinois, additional purchases were made in Iowa territory just across the river. Together the total amount of land purchased was about $70,000 in value.[7] On the Iowa side of the river some 2,000 people were located.[8]

With almost incredible rapidity the town of Nauvoo sprang

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[1] Smith and Smith, *Hist. of the Church of Jesus Christ and of the Latter Day Saints*, **2**, 340.

[2] *Ibid.*, **2**, 340.

[3] Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 139.

[4] *Overland Monthly*, **16**, N. S., 620.

[5] Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, **3**, 193. For illustrations of Nauvoo see Berry, *The Mormon Settlement in Illinois* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1906).

[6] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 156.

[7] *Niles' Register*, **57**, 320.

[8] *Cincinnati Chronicle*, Aug. 26, 1840.

up. By May, 1840, about three hundred dwellings had been erected.[9] These were block houses,[10] small wooden dwellings,[11] and occasional structures of more imposing size and appearance.[12] Many more were in the process of construction. The city was laid out with geometrical exactness. In dimension, it was four miles in length and three in breadth,[13] filling up the semicircular bend made by the river. The streets were wide, crossing each other at right angles[14] forming squares having an area of four acres each. These squares were subdivided into four lots of an acre each.[15] In the center of the city was the Temple Block.

At the time of the coming of the Mormons, two political parties were contending for supremacy in the state and the advent of so many voters necessitated the party leaders taking steps to gain control of the new vote and consequently each vied with the other in its efforts to conciliate the Saints.[16] Just previous to the election of 1840, the politicians crowded around the Prophet offering various inducements, but Smith, who was a shrewd man, if nothing else, wisely kept from giving pledges to either side until his price was offered.[17]

The price asked and given proved to be a high one and one which was to cause the citizens of the surrounding country as well as the state officers much trouble before many years had passed. Charters for the city of Nauvoo; for the Nauvoo Legion, a military organization wholly under the control of the city but nominally part of the Illinois militia; for the Nauvoo University, and for manufacturing purposes was the price.[18] The Whig party, believing the price satisfactory, signified its willingness to pay it and the Mormons at the command of their leader cast a solid Whig vote, cutting down the Democratic

[9] *Niles' Register*, 58, 192.
[10] Smith and Smith, *Latter Day Saints*, 2, 450.
[11] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 200.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Smucker, *History of the Mormons*, 158.
[15] *Overland Monthly*, 16, N. S., 620.
[16] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints* in *Fortnightly Review*, 12, 526.
[17] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 204.
[18] Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 139.

majority in the state to 1,900, the lowest it had ever been known to be.[19] The charters were granted at the meeting of the state legislature.

The charter to the city granted almost unlimited powers. It established a government within a government.[20] It placed the legislative power of the city in the hands of a mayor, a vice-mayor, four aldermen and nine counsellors.[21] This council, the charter said "shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute all such ordinances not repugnant to the constitution of the United States or this state as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit, good order, regulation, convenience and cleanliness of the city."[22] This, it will be observed, did not bind the Mormon council to observe the individual laws of the state and they could claim the right to establish a distinct and independent code of laws and it so happened.[23] Jurisdiction within the city was granted to a municipal court composed of the mayor acting as Chief Justice and the four aldermen as Associate Justices.[24]

A power as great, or even greater, was conceded in the charter for the Nauvoo Legion. This was a military body composed of divisions, brigades, cohorts, regiments, battalions and companies under the command of the Prophet,[25] and at the disposal of the mayor for executive purposes. The number of troops was 3,000.[26] The university was organized with a President, a Board of Regents and chairs of Mathematics, English Literature, Languages, Rhetoric and Belles Letters, and Church History.[27]

For a time, the power granted by these several charters was used wisely enough and Nauvoo prospered, but the plenitude of power was too much for those in command and it was abused eventually when the authorities of the city went so far as to

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[19] Norris and Gardiner, *Illinois Annual Register and Western Business Directory* (1847), 40.

[20] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 209.

[21] *Ibid.*, 207.

[22] *Ibid.*, 206.

[23] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints*, in *Fortnightly Review*, **12**, 526.

[24] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 207.

[25] *Ibid.*, 208.

[26] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints*, in *Fortnightly Review*, **12**, 526.

[27] *The New York Weekly Herald*, Jan. 15, 1842.

establish a recording office in which alone transfers of land could be recorded.[28] In addition to this an office for the issue of marriage licenses was established which was in direct opposition to the rights of Hancock county.[29] At last it was presumed by the municipal council to ask that the mayor be allowed to call in and use the United States troops whenever he should deem it necessary for the protection of himself or followers.[30]

Here, in the powers of the charters granted by the state of Illinois to the city of Nauvoo lay both the strength and weakness of the Mormon government. The strength was due to privileges granted which allowed the feeling of security to the inhabitants necessary to development; the weakness, in the jealousy aroused in the minds of the citizens of the surrounding country due to the rapid advance of the Mormons in wealth and the overbearing attitude arising therefrom.

Before following out the adverse effects of the charters upon the Mormon Community, a glance must be taken at the rapid development of the city in size and wealth. The latter part of 1841 and the early months of 1842 may be regarded as the high tide of Mormon prosperity in Illinois,—"the season of peaceful sunshine before the storm."[31] Great improvements were made in the city during the time. Several hundred houses, some of them brick and stone were erected,[32] and on April 6, 1841, the eleventh anniversary of the founding of the church in New York, the cornerstone of the Temple was laid in the presence of several thousand assembled Saints.[33] It was an imposing structure of gray limestone[34] and represented on outlay of $1,000,000.[35]

Industry did not lag in the meantime. Sawmills at Nauvoo

[28] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 207.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, 221.

[32] *Nauvoo Times and Seasons*, Sept. 15, 1841.

[33] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 183.

[34] The building was one hundred and twenty feet by eighty feet. It was sixty feet in height and to the top of the dome measured one hundred and fifty feet. (*Ibid.*, 383.)

[35] *New York Weekly Tribune*, July 15, 1843. Gregg (383) cites an estimate of the cost at $1,500,000, which he says is an exaggeration.

and Black River Falls[36] in Wisconsin were in operation, manufacturing lumber for building purposes. A steam flour mill, a tool factory, a foundry and a factory for chinaware were in busy operation, bearing testimony of Mormon industry.[37] The city also owned a steamboat.[38]

It is hard to fix the population exactly at this or any other date during the colony's stay in Illinois, for the various writers seldom, if ever, agree. Estimates of the population of Nauvoo during 1841 vary from 3,000[39] given by the Prophet himself to 10,000 given by a later writer.[40] Probably the former is nearer the correct number. Estimates of the Mormon population in Nauvoo the next year show similar discrepancies. Agreeing upon one point alone, that the growth of the community was wonderfully rapid, the authors proceed to place the numbers at anywhere from 5,000[41] to 30,000.[42] Here again, fortunately, we have an estimate made by a Mormon and published in the *Nauvoo Times and Seasons*, which places the population of the city itself at 10,000.[43] Allowing for others scattered through the towns around Nauvoo, 16,000[44] may be said to cover the entire number.

In the latter half of 1842, Nauvoo had its greatest population. Not only had the Saints from Missouri occupied the new city, but hundreds from all over the country, complying with the summons of the Prophet to assemble at Nauvoo and aid in the construction of the Temple and the University, turned their faces toward the home of the church and hastened to take up their abodes either within the city or its immediate neighborhood.[45]

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[36] Brunson, *A Western Pioneer*, 2, 168.

[37] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 199.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Smith and Smith, *The Latter Day Saints*, 2, 501.

[40] Caswell, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century*, 212.

[41] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 223.

[42] *The New York Herald*, June 17, 1843.

[43] *The New York Weekly Herald*, Jan. 15, 1842—copied from *The Nauvoo Times and Seasons.*

[44] Davidson and Stuvé, *History of Illinois*, 498; *New York Weekly Tribune*, July 15, 1843, estimates 15,000—17,000; *Madison City Express*, July 27, 1843, copies from the *Burlington Iowa Gazette* and estimates 15,000 to 17,000.

[45] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 162.

The plans of Joseph Smith were far-reaching and he determined that the sinners of other lands should be called to repentance. Elders were appointed to go to England,[46] Scotland, Ireland and Nova Scotia, besides others who were to spread the new doctrine in the eastern states, Wisconsin Territory and Galena.[47] Handsome young women were chosen also to aid in the missionary work.[48]

The work prospered, especially in England, from which place many came to swell the congregation at Nauvoo. On June 6, 1840, a colony of forty emigrants sailed from England, under the leadership of Elder Moore.[49] Three months later the *Liverpool Chronicle* mentions the sailing of a packet from that port having on board two hundred steerage passengers belonging "to a sect called Latter Day Saints and bound for Quincy in the state of Michigan, on the borders of the Mississippi, where a settlement has been provided for them by one of their sect, who has purchased a large tract of land in Michigan."[50]

Occasionally newspapers recorded the movement of these colonies to Nauvoo. The *Cincinnati Chronicle*, evidently meaning the first colony mentioned, speaks of thirty Mormons arriving in that city by keel-boat.[51] They had split into two parties at Pittsburg and the route of the second party does not seem to have been known by the writer. He, however, states that another party of the same sect, (probably the larger party which left in September) is on the way from England destined for Nauvoo. In all there were two hundred and forty who came in 1840.[52]

The years 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844 and 1845 saw additional converts from foreign lands come to dwell under the direct guidance of the Prophet.[53] The immigrants generally came in

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[46] Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 59.
[47] *Niles' Register*, 64, 336.
[48] *Ibid.*, 63, 400.
[49] Smith and Smith, *The Latter Day Saints*, 2, 450; Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 219, states the colony was under the leadership of Brigham Young.
[50] *Niles' Register*, 59, 144.
[51] *Cincinnati Chronicle*, Aug. 26, 1840.
[52] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 219.
[53] Smith and Smith, *The Latter Day Saints* (3, 1) give the following figures: 1841 (769); 1842 (1991); 1843 (769); 1844 (501); Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism* (219), gives: 1840 (240); 1841 (1135); 1842 (1614); 1843 (769); no statistics for 1844 and 1845.

large colonies numbering sometimes two,[54] three[55] or even five hundred[56] souls. They landed at various ports from Quebec[57] to New Orleans[58] and came to Nauvoo either by way of the Ohio or Mississippi river. The unanimous opinion of people coming in contact with these emigrants on their way to the West was that they were respectable looking[59] farmers or mechanics and by no means from the lowest classes in England,[60] people "who would make good settlers if they were free from the infatuation of Mormonism."[61]

This constant stream of immigration, it will be seen, did much towards aiding the rapid growth of Nauvoo and the peculiarity worthy of most attention seems to be that by far the greatest number of foreign converts were English. One writer who visited Nauvoo during 1844 says that "of the 16,000 followers assembled at Nauvoo, 10,000 are said to be from England."[62] The other foreigners were from Germany and Scotland.

With increase of numbers, an increase of prosperity came and with increased prosperity, more effort was made towards beautifying the city. In the construction of houses taste was shown and often evidences of wealth.[63] The work on the temple progressed steadily, additional manufactures were added to the number already in operation, evincing industry and economic success.[64] New farms were enclosed, the land was put under cultivation and a general air of success pervaded the whole neighborhood.[65]

Nauvoo impressed visitors in various ways. One visitor in speaking of the city says, "Such a collection of miserable

[54] *New York Weekly Herald*, Apr. 9, 1842.
[55] *Museum of Foreign Literature*, 45, 9.
[56] *Niles' Register*, 64, 96.
[57] *Ibid.*, 60, 304.
[58] *New York Weekly Herald*, Apr. 9, 1842; *Madison City Express*, Apr. 25, 1844. (From *St. Louis Era.*)
[59] *New York Weekly Herald*, Apr. 9, 1842; *Cincinnati Chronicle*, Aug. 26, 1840.
[60] *Museum of Foreign Literature*, 45, 9.
[61] *Madison City Express*, Apr. 25, 1844. (From *The St. Louis Era.*)
[62] Lewis, *Impressions of Ameriea and the American Churches*, 265.
[63] *Madison City Express*, July 27, 1843.
[64] Smucker, *History of the Mormons*, 159.
[65] *Ibid.*

houses and hovels I could not have believed existed in one place.''[66]

Other writers who have visited the place speak more highly of it and some with marked enthusiasm. Among these a certain Mr. Newhall, who visited Nauvoo in the autumn of 1843, published his impressions in a New England newspaper, giving a description which is both vivid and interesting. He says, ''Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels which I had expected to find, I was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the West. The buildings, though many of them were small, and of wood, yet bore marks of neatness which I have not seen equalled in this country. The far-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with the habitations of men, with such majestic profusion that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken, and instead of being in Nauvoo of Illinois among Mormons, that I was in Italy at the city of Leghorn which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much. I gazed for sometime with fond admiration on the plain below. Here and there rose a tall majestic brick house, speaking loudly of genius and the untiring labor of the inhabitants. I passed on into the more active parts of the city looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business—much more than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore marks of immorality but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers around the streets nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffianism or with the illbred and impudent. I heard not an oath in the place. I saw not a gloomy countenance, all were cheerful, polite and industrious.''[67] From this description we may conclude that there was something to commend in Nauvoo and its inhabitants, for the writer had visited many places in his trip through the

[66] *Overland Monthly*, 16, N. S. 617.

[67] Smucker, *History of the Mormons*, 152. (Extract from the *Salem (Mass.) Advertiser*.)

West and had had abundant opportunities offered for comparisons.

The newly built dwellings of the rural districts around Nauvoo did not present the same uniform prosperity. This can be explained by the fact that these farms were just being opened up and the habitations erected upon them were in keeping with the general character of pioneer dwellings.

Such was Nauvoo, the city of the Latter Day Saints, when the storm broke over them. The city itself was the largest one in Illinois, having in 1845 some 15,000[68] inhabitants. Next to St. Louis, it was the most important central point and supply depot of the western territory.[69] Some families had left by 1844, already anticipating a visitation similar to the one experienced in Missouri, but others had been added in greater numbers to take their places[70] until by the end of 1844, 30,000 Mormons resided in Nauvoo and its vicinity.[71]

In order to understand the expulsion of the Mormons, it is necessary to return to the early history of the settlement. Scarcely had the Mormons settled in Hancock county when trouble arose. Several inhabitants of Shelby county became converts, whereupon a mob attacked them. The Mormons in retaliation secured warrants from Judge Breese calling for the arrest of fifteen of the leaders, but the militia, when called upon to assist in serving the warrants, flatly refused.[72]

Little by little the opposition grew, quietly at first, but turned by later events into an open and bitter hostility. The extraordinary privileges granted by the charter[73] to Nauvoo were instrumental at first in exciting the envy and distrust of the citizens of the surrounding country. An independent military force devoted to the Prophet and the right claimed by him to disregard warrants for the arrest of any person in Nauvoo, if issued from other places, seemed more than the people could bear. Moreover, .the political party which had not re-

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[68] Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 134.
[69] *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 6, 1886.
[70] *Nauvoo Times and Seasons*, 5, 743.
[71] Smith and Smith, *Latter Day Saints*, 3, 1.
[72] *Niles' Register*, 56, 336.
[73] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints*, in *Fortnightly Review*, 12, 527.

ceived the Mormon vote was exasperated and combining forces with others, incensed by different causes, they conspired against the power of the Saints. On December 9, 1842, a motion was made in the legislature of Illinois to repeal the charter.[74] Joseph Smith's brother, at that time a member, spoke earnestly against the proceeding, appealing to the Locofoco party to sustain his city. As a result no vote was taken and the Nauvoo charter was safe for the time.

Reports also spread through the state that some Mormons at the instigation of Smith, had made an attempt upon the life of ex-governor Boggs of Missouri.[75] Some foundation was given to the reports when Governor Reynolds issued requisition papers for the arrest of Smith as a fugitive from justice. After some delay, caused by the Mormon authorities at Nauvoo, Smith gave himself up for trial, and after being heard, was released, owing to insufficient evidence being produced agaginst him.[76]

Still another episode helped to inflame the Illinoisans. John C. Bennett, at one time the right hand man of Smith and commander of the Nauvoo Legion, quarreled with his chief and left the city in great wrath.[77] Having been for several years in high circles in Nauvoo, he worked great harm to the Saints by publishing an exposé[78] of Mormonism, severe and scathing in its nature, and substantiating in every respect reports of corruptness and immorality existing within the city. Eagerly grasping at anything which would give them a right to work vengeance upon the citizens of Nauvoo, many good and patriotic men began to believe that Nauvoo was a second Sodom and a foul spot which should be blotted out.[79]

As time went on the hatred increased and difficulties multiplied. One of the many charges made against these people was that they were prone to appropriate the property of their Gentile neighbors.[80] This was strenuously denied by the Mor-

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[74] *Niles' Register*, 63, 304.
[75] *Ibid.*, 63, 389.
[76] *Ibid.*, 63, 389.
[77] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 222.
[78] The work is entitled, *History of the Saints: or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism*, (Boston, 1842.)
[79] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 222.
[80] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 189.

mons. Extremely poor when they arrived in Illinois, owing to the fact that they had been dragged about from place to place and robbed of their goods either by unbelievers or by the elders of the church in attempts to accumulate property for their own personal benefit, the Mormons had gained in wealth so rapidly that their honesty was questioned.

The doctrines of the church did not support theft but they did teach that, sooner or later, the goods of the Gentiles were to fall into the hands of the Saints.[81] Since they were the true children of the Lord to whom belonged the earth and its richness, it was only just and proper that the Mormons should appropriate such portions as were deemed necessary.[82] Such were the allegations of their critics.

Out of fairness to that part of the Mormon population of Nauvoo which believed in the church and tried to live moral lives it must be said that probably a large number of the thefts committed were the work of a class of horse-thieves, house-breakers and villains who gathered in Nauvoo that they might cloak their deeds in mystery.[83] This class cared nothing for religion and were baptised that they might find refuge in the city, for refuge was given to all claiming a part in the church. When stolen property was traced to Nauvoo, which was often the case, neither the owner nor even officers of the law were able to recover it. Pursuers were set at defiance within the Mormon stronghold, often robbed of their horses and driven out of the city with insults.[84] Because of this protection it was not long until thefts were committed in broad daylight before the eyes of the farmers themselves who were powerless to prevent depredations.

Moreover, it was charged that Nauvoo harbored a nest of counterfeiters who operated in the surrounding county.[85] Specie alone would be taken at the government land offices in payment for lands. These men would on occasions load their bogus

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[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Letter* of Henrietta C. Jones in *Stories of the Pioneer Mothers of Illinois.* (*MSS.* in Ill. Hist. Library.)

[83] Gunnison, *The History of the Mormons,* 116.

[84] *Niles' Register,* 69, 110.

[85] *New York Weekly Tribune,* Jan. 5, 1846.

coin into a wagon, cover it with light articles of merchandise to give the outfit the appearance of a peddler's wagon, and proceed into land districts where specie was in demand. There they would trade off their coin for paper money. Tales of the "spiritual-wife" doctrine were also afloat in the country, which supported by the exposé of Bennett added fuel to the fire.

Even this list of grievances shows but in part the reason for the downfall of the Church of Mormon in Illinois. Jealousy, rivalry and dissension within the church itself at last opened the road, by means of which the final expulsion took place. A new church with William Law as President was established during the spring of 1844.[86] Not satisfied with this move Law, with the faction, decided to establish a newspaper in the stronghold of Mormonism with the avowed purpose of making an attack upon the leaders of the church. Accordingly on June 7 of the same year, the *Nauvoo Expositor* appeared, bearing the motto, "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."[87] It boldly attacked Smith and his associates for immorality. The first issue was the last, for on the tenth of the month the city council declared the *Expositor* a nuisance and the city marshal at the head of the police force destroyed the press, while the editors fled from the city making appeals to the laws of the state for redress.[88]

The action of the Mormon authorities was construed as an attack upon free speech, liberty of the press and the right of private property,[89] and writs for the arrest of Joseph Smith and others were secured at Carthage, the county seat of Hancock county.[90] Officers were sent to make the arrests but after they were effected the constable of Nauvoo produced a writ of habeas corpus sworn out before the municipal court of the city and compelled the release of the prisoners.[91] Feeling against the Mormons ran high and many of them foreseeing serious trouble

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[86] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 237.

[87] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 234.

[88] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints* in *Fortnightly Review*, **12**, 527; *Niles' Register*, **66**, 278.

[89] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 234.

[90] *Niles' Register*, **66**, 278.

[91] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 239.

left the city. Joseph Smith placed the city under martial law, while armed bands of Gentiles formed throughout the country enrolled under the sheriff's orders, ready to march upon Nauvoo.[92]

Here Governor Ford interfered. Coming to Carthage he sent a message to the prophet demanding an explanation of the trouble. Smith went in person to Carthage to make his defence and was bound over, together with the members of the Nauvoo city council, to appear at the following term of court. Almost immediately after the hearing, the prophet with three followers was arrested upon the charge of treason and thrown into jail.[93] Rumors were afloat that an attempt would be made to rescue the prisoners, and, to frustrate this plan, an entrance was forced into the jail by a party of militia-men and both the Smiths were murdered.[94]

The Mormons in Nauvoo feared a general attack upon their city, while a panic spread through Carthage. In two hours the town was deserted. Men, women and children, all fearing Mormon vengeance fled on foot, on horseback and in wagons.[95] The shock was too great for the Mormons and they made no attempt to take vengeance.[96] Nine men were indicted, charged with the murder of the Smiths but were acquitted after trial.[97]

The Mormon power, although it had received a severe blow, was not broken. Brigham Young took up the reins of government and Nauvoo gave promise of prosperity but another setback was experienced almost immediately. The August election had resulted in the success of the Mormon ticket in Hancock county and officials obnoxious to the Gentiles were elected.[98] The previous September had seen a body of resolutions passed by the citizens of the county stating that they would refuse to obey officers elected by the Mormons.[99] This was followed in June, 1844, by another act, passed by the citizens of Warsaw, being

[92] *Niles' Register*, 66, 278.
[93] Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism*, 240-242.
[94] *Niles' Register*, 66, 311.
[95] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 280.
[96] *Niles' Register*, 66, 329.
[97] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 298.
[98] *Ibid.*, 320.
[99] *Niles' Register*, 65, 70.

much more threatening in character. The resolutions called for the expulsion of the Mormons from the township and advised the neighboring townships to adopt the same plan. Moreover, they favored driving all Mormons into Nauvoo and demanding from them their leaders. A refusal would be taken as a signal for a war of extermination and, the resolutions continue "we shall hold ourselves at all times at readiness to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in this state, Missouri and Iowa to exterminate, utterly exterminate, the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders."[100]

The state legislature took up the matter in December, 1844, and before the end of January, 1845, a bill to repeal all the Mormon charters had passed both houses and the fate of Nauvoo was sealed.[101] Although at this time it was the largest and most prosperous town in the state it began to decline in spite of all efforts made by the Mormons to sustain it.[102]

For the remainder of the year 1845 the Saints remained at Nauvoo and the vicinity but not unmolested. Over two hundred houses belonging to Mormons were burned at Morleytown, Bear Creek, and Green Plains.[103] Deputies were sent to Young in September telling him that the Mormons were to be expelled from the state, to which notification he replied that he had already determined to leave Nauvoo.[104]

A formal treaty was made to the effect that the Mormons should leave in the spring of 1846, provided they were protected from attacks in the meantime and allowed to dispose of their property in peace.[105] Representatives from Brown, Pike, Adams, Schuyler, Knox, Henderson and other counties, men of high standing who earnestly desired the welfare of the state, met in Carthage early in October and passed resolutions stating that in their belief the removal of the Mormons was the only solution to the existing difficulty and recommending to the peo-

[100] *Niles' Register,* 66, 278.
[101] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra,* 321.
[102] Smith and Smith, *Latter Day Saints,* 3, 122.
[103] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra,* 328; Beadle, *Life in Utah,* 137.
[104] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints,* in *Fortnightly Review,* 12, 534.
[105] *Ibid.*

ple of the surrounding counties that the proposition of the Mormons to move in the spring be accepted.[106]

All during the winter of 1845-46 prodigious preparations were made in Nauvoo for removal in the early spring. All the houses and even the Temple were turned into workshops and before the river was clear of ice in the spring 12,000 wagons were ready for use.[107] While the river was yet frozen and the cold was intense, the first band, numbering one thousand, left Nauvoo for the West,[108] but the great body of the Saints remained in the city until they had performed a sacred duty—the completion of the Temple. Although they knew they could never use it, yet it was finished with elaborate care and consecrated early in May.[109] By the middle of the month 16,000[110] had left, leaving only about one thousand who had not yet been able to dispose of their property.[111]

Some wished to remain, saying they had left the church and could no longer be obnoxious, others had not the means to get away. The Gentiles, however, were not willing to agree to this, believing that peace could not be restored as long as a vestige of Mormonism was left. The prevailing sentiment was that "Every Saint, mongrel or whole-blood" and every thing that looked like a Saint, talked or acted like a Saint, should be compelled to leave.[112]

The more often the Mormons expressed a desire to remain in Illinois the more determined were the citizens that they should not. Things approached a crisis and it soon appeared that those Mormons who remained, now probably six hundred in number. seemed resolved to defend their city to the last.[113] The Gentiles began to gather their forces and 1,200 under the leadership of Rev. Brockman laid regular seige to Nauvoo in September, 1846.[115] After a pitched battle, which resulted in the death of

[106] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 335.
[107] Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 142.
[108] Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, 343.
[109] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints*, in *Fortnightly Review*, **12**, 534.
[110] Smith and Smith, *Latter Day Saints*, 3, 164.
[111] Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 142.
[112] *Madison Express*, Feb. 12, 1846.
[113] *Niles' Register*, **7**, 272.
[115] Amberley, *The Latter Day Saints*, in *Fortnightly Review*, **12**, 534.

several on each side,[116] the Mormons surrendered and agreed to leave the state at once.[117]

Nauvoo was now abandoned save for the lone Mormon agent who remained in charge of the property,[118] wistfully looking for purchasers or tenants, and waiting for any possible answer to the following advertisement:

"Temple for Sale.

The undersigned Trustees of the Latter Day Saints propose to sell the Temple on very low terms, if an early application is made. The Temple is admirably designed for Literary or Religious purposes. Address the undersigned Trustees.

Almon W. Babbitt,
Joseph L. Heywood,
John S. Fullmer.

Nauvoo, May 15, 1846."[119]

To Illinois, the expulsion of this sect seems to have been a blessing, for peace and quiet had for years been almost unknown in that portion of the state lying around the Mormon stronghold. Of the four religious or communistic settlements in Illinois this one alone was not welcome, and alone of all was not allowed to work out its own destiny unmolested. One reason may be assigned. The people of the state firmly believed the Mormons nothing more than a band of imposters and rascals. While the Mormon settlement in Illinois is an exceptional case in the settlement of the state it can be considered as a phase of the westward expansion. It is an example of a body of religious enthusiasts attempting to find a place on the frontier where they could put into operation their social and religious views.

Originating in western New York which was a hot-bed for religious excitement, the followers moved to Ohio, then to Missouri, then to Illinois and finally to the far West. Smith was born in Windsor county, Vermont, and moved to New York in 1815. The people among whom he found himself were ex-

[116] *Niles' Register,* 71, 64.
[117] *Warsaw Signal,* Oct. 13, 1846.
[118] Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States,* 129.
[119] *Nauvoo New Citizen,* Feb. 24, 1847.

tremely religious and superstitious. Prophecies and miracles were believed in and the Bible accepted literally making the state a natural field for wild religious speculation. With increased converts came the vision of a community devoting itself entirely to the teachings of the Book of Mormon. The frontier was the natural place for such a community to work out its destiny and a home was sought, first in Ohio, then in Missouri and then in Illinois.

However free the life and thought of the West might be it could not be brought to agree with or even, at last, to allow the exercise of views which seemed to be pernicious and destructive to religious and social order. The expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and from Illinois shows another pioneer characteristic yet in the early stages of development. It was one of the first signs of "border ruffianism" which was developed so rapidly in the Kansas struggle of the next decade. In this early stage the characteristic displayed was the beginning of the intolerant spirit towards a disliked institution. The expulsion was arbitrary; it was done simply because of antagonism and while Mormon ideals, beliefs and customs can in no way be supported, the action of the citizens of the states is open to condemnation.

In some ways the city of the Mormons followed the general tendency and laws of development of western towns. Situated on a convenient transportation line and having a good back country to draw upon, it was bound to grow should external conditions not hinder. The development cannot, however, be attributed to natural causes at work in the western country; but it must be attributed to an immigration growing under fanatical religious pressure and here again Nauvoo is the exception in westward expansion. Aside from the desire of a body of people to work out a social, communistic and religious experiment near the frontier line, the Mormon colony is not typical in the western movement.

CHAPTER XIII

Communistic Settlements in Illinois

Before the Mormons were driven from Illinois, another interesting community was established within the bounds of the state. The newcomers were followers of the French socialist, Fourier, and were putting to a practical test the theory advanced by this man. The workings and life of the two settlements founded in Illinois seem to have attracted but little attention and almost nothing is known of the communities save that one of them numbering over one hundred members existed for a year and a half in Sangamon county. Of the earlier experiment in Bureau county nothing is known.

Fourier, the father of the theory, founded his philosophy of human relations to God, the world and fellowmen upon the basis of harmony. God created the universe on an harmonious plan, hence harmony was the keynote of all things. Within each person certain instincts and passions predominate and whereever these passions and instincts were properly developed for the good of society, there the ideal state was to be found.

For the proper development of the Phalanx, the basic unit of the system, three square miles of land were necessary upon which was to be built the Palace or common house. Everything was held in common and division of labor was highly developed. Farmers, capitalists, scientists and artists all had their spheres of employment. To each laborer a fixed sum was paid according to the amount of work he did and according to his ability. All profits went to a common fund. All children received equal instruction and from earliest childhood were trained for the Phalanx according to their inclination.[1]

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[1] Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, 85.

Practical tests of these dreams were made and, through the efforts of Albert Brisbane, Fourierism was introduced into the United States.[2] Societies were formed in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois. As a rule they were shortlived affairs and the ones in Illinois were no exception to the rule.

Bureau county was the scene of the first experiment in Illinois. No definite information is obtainable concerning the number of members, the amount of land held by the society or the length of life of the community. It had its beginning in 1843 and was apparently a venture which met with no success.[3]

Two years later the Integral Phalanx began its life in Sangamon county, a few miles from Springfield. The settlement had one hundred and twenty members and owned over five hundred acres of land. Five or six buildings were erected upon the land besides the large central building which was a two-story structure, three hundred and sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide.[4]

In actual life this community, while intending ultimately to follow out Fourier's idea in its details, does not seem to have conformed to the established rules during the early days of its existence. A correspondent to the *New York Tribune* wrote that "until the members were prepared to organize they intended to operate on a system of hired labor and pay each individual a full compensation for all assistance rendered in labor or other services and charge each a fair price for what he received from the common store house of the Phalanx. What remained to each individual was then credited to him as stock and drew ten per cent. compound interest."[5] A further evidence that the community was never thoroughly organized as a Phalanx operating upon a communistic basis is found in the same article, for the correspondent says; "It is better that the different families should remain separate for five years than

[2] *Ibid.*, 87.
[3] Hinds, *American Communities*, 224.
[4] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Nov. 15, 1845.
[5] *Ibid.*

to bring them together under circumstances worse than civilization." The venture lasted but seventeen months.[6] Probably only the more enthusiastic members moved away to similar settlements in other places, the others remaining to take advantage of the excellent farming country.

Next in order of time came the Swedish colony at Bishop Hill in Henry county. It was both religious and communistic in character.

In Sweden no one was allowed to worship excepting according to forms of the established Lutheran church. In 1825 a split came in the church. A new sect composed of peasants and a few of the clergy, and known as the Devotionalists arose in the province of Helsingland.[7] For seventeen years these Devotionalists, under the guidance of their highly respected leader Jonas Olson, assembled unmolested to read their Bibles, still enjoying their privileges as full members of the Established Church.[8] The work of the Devotionalists was commendable for it tended towards furthering industry and sobriety among the peasant class whose morals had been very low.

Eric Jansen, who was also the head of a dissenting sect now (1842) appeared upon the scene, speaking with great effect to various assemblages of Devotionalists. The Jansonists had been cast out of the Established Church in 1834 and from that time had been subjected to persecutions by the orthodox party.[9] Jansen had been imprisoned but escaped through Norway to Denmark and thence to New York.[10]

A large number of Swedes having now become dissatisfied with the state of religious affairs in their native land resolved to emigrate. The Jansonists included many among their number who were miners and poor peasants unable to bear the expense of a voyage to America. To remedy this, the idea of making the colony communistic was conceived and carried out.[11] A messenger sent in 1845 to seek a place suitable for a colony,

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[6] Hinds, *American Communities*, 224.
[7] Mikkelsen, *The Bishop Hill Colony*, in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, **10**, **15**.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 24.
[10] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 2–3.
[11] Mikklesen, *The Bishop Hill Colony*, in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, **10**, **27**.

upon arriving in New York, was directed to Victoria, Knox county, Illinois. A satisfactory location having been found and the news conveyed to Sweden, preparations for departure were completed.

In the early summer of 1846 between four and five hundred emigrants[12] set sail from Sweden, landing at New York where they were met by Eric Jansen, who acted as their conductor to Illinois. The scant means of the party were almost exhausted upon landing and as they were still far from their destination a serious problem confronted them. It is said that some of the men traveled the whole distance from New York on foot while the women and children were sent by way of the Erie canal and the Great Lakes to Chicago. From Chicago to Henry county (the destination having been changed from Knox county owing to the reported unhealthful climate of that place) all excepting the weakly, women and children journeyed on foot, a distance of more than one hundred miles.[13]

The Harbinger in speaking of the party as it left Chicago in September, 1846, says that on the faces of these immigrants there were expressions of patient, intelligent endurance. "They were not bowed down with weakness and care like the French and Italian emigrants, nor stern and stolid like the newly arrived Germans, nor wild and vehement like many of the Irish—they walked erect and firm, looking always hopeful and contented though very serious," and the greatest gentleness and good will prevailed among them.[14] When they arrived in Henry county they purchased land and named their new home Bishop Hill in honor of the birth place of Jansen.[15]

It could not be said that their lives were happy during the first winter in Illinois. They lived in several log houses, two tents and a dozen "dug-outs."[16] Their fare was no better than their lodgings—pork with bread baked from the cornmeal ground by their mill furnished their food. When the stream which

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[12] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 2–3; Bigelow, *The Bishop Hill Colony* in the Ill. Hist. Society *Transactions* (1902), 101–108.

[13] Hinds, *American Communities*, 303.

[14] *The Harbinger*, 3, 257.

[15] Hinds, *American Communities*, 303.

[16] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 3.

turned the mill wheel could not be used, the work was done by two or three men. Scanty fare and poorly ventilated apartments soon brought on disease and the new settlers were either shaking with ague or burning with fever. Cholera appeared and a score died, while many fled to escape this scourge.[17]

During 1847 four hundred more arrived and by the close of the following year there were 1,200 in the settlement.[18] Cholera broke out again in 1849 and checked immigration.[19]

Like the Puritans the first thoughts of the Swedish settlers were for a church and a school. A large tent[20] (some say a log structure)[21] was erected for divine services. In summer the meetings were held in the open air. A mud cave at first answered the purpose of a school house.[22]

During the first year at Bishop Hill the colonists divided their waking hours between labor and worship save the time when they gathered around the common tables. "At five in the winter and four in the summer the bell summoned them to their morning devotions which sometimes lasted two hours."[23] Sometimes at noon and after the evening meal services were again held. A school of theology was instituted and young men after studying the English language a few months, were sent forth to convert the United States and the world.[24] Their success was moderate, the Yankees being especially hard to convert since they were "too busy inventing bad clocks and peddling cheap tinware to listen to what the missionaries had to say."[25]

Farming was carried on extensively and was well done.[26] Thousands of acres of land were cultivated and hundreds of cattle and horses went to make up the wealth of the settlement.[27]

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[17] Hinds, *American Communities*, 305.

[18] Bigelow, *The Bishop Hill Colony* in the Ill. Hist. Society *Transactions* (1902), 101-108; *Niles' Register*, 70, 260; gives the population as 1,100.

[19] Bigelow, *The Bishop Hill Colony* in the Ill. Hist. Society *Transactions* (1902), 101-108.

[20] Hinds, *American Communities*, 305.

[21] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 3.

[22] Hinds, *American Communities*, 305.

[23] *Ibid.*, 306.

[24] Nelson, *Scandinavians, in the United States*, 2, 4.

[25] Mikklesen, *The Bishop Hill Colony* in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, 10, 31.

[26] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 4.

[27] Hinds, *American Communities*, 310.

Men, women, boys and girls alike worked in the fields.[28] Flax and broom corn were produced, and as many of the colonists had been expert weavers in their native land they pursued the industry in their new homes.[29] Sawmills were erected and furnished an abundance of lumber.[30] The manufacture of kiln-dried bricks became one of the industries.[31]

By 1850, when the greatest prosperity of the colony began, nearly every province of Sweden was represented at Bishop Hill, which was, at that time, by far the most populous and important settlement in Henry county.[32] Between $10,000 and $15,000 in gold had been put into circulation by these Swedes in purchasing land and the necessaries of life, which, since trade in the section of the state was being carried on almost entirely by barter, was a matter of no little importance to the people.[33]

Dissension finally arose within the colony and culminated in the murder of Jansen in 1850.[34] As has been stated the Bishop Hill settlement was communistic in character and the wealth of the colony which was held in common was controlled by seven trustees who held office subject to the approval of the male members of the colony.[35] The common dining hall, where the whole community numbering more than a thousand were fed, was a feature distinctly communistic.[36] The trustees were provided for by a charter granted to the colony by the legislature of Illinois in 1853. Two years later financial entanglements due to unsuccessful speculation by the trustees caused the dissolution of the colony,[37] and here ended perhaps the most successful experiment among the communistic settlements of Illinois.

In the closing years of the decade 1841–1850 another social experiment was begun on the site of the Mormon city, Nauvoo.

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[28] *Ibid.*, 307.

[29] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 4.

[30] *Ibid.*, 4.

[31] Hinds, *American Communities*, 310.

[32] Mikklesen, *The Bishop Hill Colony* in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, 10, 36.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Bremer, *The Homes of the New World*, 2, 67–70.

[35] Hinds, *American Communities*, 311.

[36] *Ibid.*, 310.

[37] Nelson, *Scandinavians in the United States*, 2, 6.

The founder was M. Etienne Cabet, a Frenchman, whose childhood had been passed during the stormy days of the French Revolution and whose youth had witnessed the struggle of France in her vain endeavor to satisfy the ambition of Napoleon. It is scarcely to be wondered at that this man who was one of some ability as a statesman and a writer should have conceived a plan by means of which he thought to correct the corrupt organization of society. The abolition of self-interest and selfishness must, he believed, be effected; common ownership of property must be established; freedom of religion must be tolerated; women must be given the same social rights as men and equality be made the basis of society.[38]

These communistic doctrines met with much support among the common people of France but not with the higher classes. Not only were the French interested but other nationalities and in foreign countries the better classes of artisans seemed to be the ones most in favor of Cabet's teachings.[39] By the Socialistic paper *La Populaire*, Cabet's ideas were disseminated among the artisans of Germany, Spain, Italy and Switzerland—everywhere that the French language could be read. By 1848 some 400,000 people adhered to the Icarian doctrine.[40]

Owing to the fact that it was not generally accepted in France, Cabet decided to move to America and establish his settlement there. Thousands who wished to go had not the means, so sixty-nine were chosen as a vanguard, from among those who could afford to make the voyage, and in February, 1848, they left Havre bound for New Orleans.[41] Fifteen hundred were soon to follow, but upon the establishment of the Second Republic in 1848 it seemed as if better days were coming in France, and the greater part of those intending to leave for America changed their plans and remained at home. Later in the year four hundred came.[42] The destination of the colony was Texas[43] but it was not long before the dream of a community farm of

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[38] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 374.
[39] Robinson, *A Social Experiment* in *The Open Court*, Aug, 28, 1890.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] Hinds, *American Communities*, 328.

a million acres in that state faded away under a series of hardships too severe for the people to stand. On January 1, 1849, Cabet landed in New Orleans.[44] The colony now consisted of four hundred and eighty souls with an average capital of thirty-five dollars per individual.[45]

The Texas venture was a failure. Some were discouraged and gave up;[46] others remained firm, determined to carry out their original plan of a colony based upon a proper social structure. Exploring parties were sent out to seek a more favorable location and Nauvoo was selected.[47] Brigham Young when he had organized the migration to Salt Lake had left the Mormon property at Nauvoo in the hands of an agent who remained waiting for a purchaser. This was an excellent opportunity for the Icarians, since the land was well cultivated and there were good houses all of which could be obtained at a nominal figure. Eight hundred acres of land were rented and a mill, distillery and several houses were purchased.[48] Here, dispirited and homesick as they were, the Icarians attempted to carry out their ideas of a reorganized social life, as well as circumstances would allow.

A constitution was drawn up setting forth the fundamentals of governmental and social structure. The idea was to replace the old world by a new one; to supplant the rule of Satan by the rule of God; moral death by regeneration; ignorance by education; domination and servitude by enfranchisement and liberty; aristocracy by democracy; and monarchy by republicanism. Furthermore, they desired to replace excessive opulence of a few by the well-being of all; to substitute a religion of reason which would induce men to love each other, for religions mixed with superstition, intolerance and fanaticism; to adopt a social organization in which the word "society" would no longer be mockery and falsehood; to replace individual property, the source of all abuse, by social property; to purify the institutions of marriage and family by educating women as

[44] Robinson, *A Social Experiment* in *The Open Court*, Aug. 28, 1890.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 372.

[47] Robinson, *A Social Experiment* in *The Open Court*, Aug. 28, 1890; Miller, Mrs. J. G., *The Icarian Community of Nauvoo, Illinois* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1906).

[48] Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, 129.

well as men and allowing them unrestricted choice in the selection of husbands, and finally to base all upon liberty, equality and fraternity.[49]

Unity, solidarity, equality and respect of law were to be perfected by having all live as one family, assuming mutual responsibility, suppressing servitude and submitting to the rule of the majority. The exercise of natural liberty should extend to the right of defense from attack, social liberty should not be exercised beyond the law while political liberty consisted in assisting to make laws. The fundamental guiding principle was to be found in the maxim "Love thy neighbor as thyself."[50]

All male members over twenty-one years of age were allowed to take an active part in the government. All branches of society were under the supervision of committees and education was given special attention, for in the younger generation Cabet hoped to see the realization of his ideals of social and governmental structure, and the children were educated accordingly by the community, living together as a single family.

The everyday life of the community was simple but interesting. Each member worked according to his strength, laboring ten hours a day. On Sunday lectures were given on moral and religious subjects; dancing and the enjoyment of nature were indulged in during the day while theaters and concerts were held in the evening. The business of the community was discussed on Saturday evening.[51]

The industry of the members, their peaceful and orderly habits caused them to be esteemed by their American neighbors. They were a sociable and intellectual people living a better life than could have been lived under a system of individualism and they formed a pleasant contrast to the people who had occupied the site of their colony only a few years before.

Financial troubles, however, at last caused dissension and numbered the Icarian community among the failures of socialistic experiments. The colony divided, part going with Cabet to St. Louis and the remainder to Iowa.[52]

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[49] *Charter and By-Laws of the Icarian Community*, 7-8.
[50] *Ibid.*, 9-16.
[51] Reynolds, *Illinois*, 376.
[52] Robinson, *A Social Experiment* in *The Open Court*, Sept. 11, 1890.

There were a number of smaller colonies in the state based upon plans of a more or less communistic nature. In the Illinois river valley[53] were the Tremont, Delavan and Mackinaw colonies in Tazewell county and the Rockwell colony in La Salle county; in the Military Tract[54] there were the Andover, Wethersfield and Geneseo colonies in Henry county, the Hampshire and Providence colonies in Bureau county and Gale's colony in Knox county; in Eastern Illinois[55] there were the Rhode Island and Hudson colonies in McLean county, the German colony at Teutopolis, Effingham county, the French *Colonie des Frères* in Jasper county and Noel Vasseur's Canadian colony at Bourbonnais, Kankakee county.

It was generally the plan of the organizers of these colonies to form stock companies, purchase land and allot tracts of it to the members of the companies in proportion to the amount of stock held.[56] Some of the colonies were chartered by the state.[57] Often a common house was erected by the company for the accommodation of the settlers until homes could be provided for the families.[58]

These colonies may be taken as a phase of the westward movement which seems to have appealed particularly to New Englanders and New York. There had been, since earliest times, a desire among New Englanders to live in compact settlements. From political and religious instincts the earliest settlers in New England clung closely together. This tendency was strengthened by Indian wars and physiographic influences. It appears that, although many New Englanders came west alone trusting to individual efforts to establish homes in the new country, there was also a distinct movement to settle in

[53] See *Ch. IV.* for details of settlement and growth.

[54] *Ch. V.*

[55] *Ch. VIII.*

[56] The Delavan company had a capital of $44,000 and held 23,000 acres of land (*ch., IV.*); the Wethersfield colony had a capital of $25,000 and held 20,000 acres of land (*ch., V*); the Rhode Island colony had a capital of $12,500 (*ch., VIII*); the Providence colony held 17,000 acres (*ch., V*): the German colony at Teutopolis held 10,000 acres (*ch., VIII*); and the French colony in Jasper county had 12,000 acres (*ch., VIII*).

[57] The Rhode Island Colony in McLean county was chartered by the state of Illinois (*ch. VIII*).

[58] The Providence colony (*ch., V*), the Delavan and Mackinaw colonies all provided common houses (*ch., IV*).

colonies. From New York, also, similar attempts were made, but when one remembers that western New York was settled by New Englanders shortly after the Revolution, an explanation may be found in the New England origin of the New Yorkers. Probably many of these colonies which were planned in the thirties are due to the spirit of speculation which was rife in the country at the time. It is equally true that the financial difficulties of the closing years of that decade brought many of these ventures to an untimely end. Still another idea may have been in the minds of the promoters. The great prairies of the West could hardly be occupied successfully by individuals but with the concerted efforts of numbers it seemed that success could be obtained. Occasionally religion played a part in the birth of new colonies but it appears that the religious and social influences acted more strongly in those ventures which foreigners attempted.

In the cases of the Phalanx and of Icaria can be seen an interesting phase of the westward expansion. These were attempts by a number of enthusiasts to put into operation certain social ideals which they held. The frontier, or at least the new western country, was the most favorable place for these experiments. for here the members believed they could work out their plans unhampered. Illinois was still enough of a frontier state to allow the greatest possible social freedom and yet it lacked the dangers of the extreme frontier.

The followers of Fourier were quiet, peaceful agriculturists who preached no doctrine harmful to society and they were consequently allowed to remain undisturbed, being regarded by the people of Illinois as a band of dreamers, who sooner or later would see the weakness of their beliefs and abandon them.

In the Icarian community is found an excellent example of a democratic government combined with pure communism in property. When one examines the difficulties which confronted the Icarians, and remembers that the members of the community were only average Frenchmen endowed with ordinary traits of human nature he will see that even though these people tried earnestly to live more equal, unselfish, altruistic lives they had embarked upon a difficult enterprise. Moreover, when it is

remembered that the colony was composed chiefly of artisans from the French cities, rather than people of the farming class, and that they were totally ignorant of American customs, language, laws and business it may be wondered at that the colony attained the degree of success which it did. Besides there was no religious sentiment to spur on the members to success as was the case in the Bishop Hill settlement.

The Bishop Hill colony, primarily religious in character, developed, through necessity, into a communistic experiment. Upon arriving in Illinois, circumstances further developed communistic traits. Being from a foreign land and being unfamiliar with American customs and forms of government, these newcomers felt that they were strangers, and being attached to the customs of their native land they continued to enjoy them. Moreover, in the new country there was, owing to the lack of transportation facilities, little opportunity for contact with the outer world. Agriculture was the chief industry, but with the manufacture of cloth, lumber and other necessaries and with the establishment of a college in connection with their church and school, the settlers made their community nearly self-sufficing. The common kitchen and dining-room and the supervision of all business by trustees were important communistic features. The log houses and "dug-outs" for abodes; the meals of pork and corn bread; the attacks of fever and ague, all show the frontier characteristics of the colony.

In some respects the Bishop Hill colony differed from the other settlements of the same general class. The members attempted no new social organization as did the Icarians or the followers of Fourier, neither were they, like the Mormans, attempting to establish a new religion, but they were, like the Puritan fathers, fugitives from their native land attempting to worship as they wished in a new country. The communism practiced was not based upon a theory but was merely the outgrowth of existing circumstances and the desire of the well-to-do to aid the more unfortunate ones.

CHAPTER XIV

The Prairie Pioneer

So far in the march of the frontiersmen toward the West, the way had been blazed by the hunter-pioneer type. The woodsmen from Kentucky and Tennessee, impelled by an increasing desire to claim new lands had, by sheer force pushed the frontier line slowly towards the western horizon. Behind this class of settlers came another which moved more slowly and which for a time seemed to be outstripped in the race for new lands. Small farmers composed the class. They were not constantly changing their locations but rather were content to remain in one place until they could dispose of their farms with some profit. By 1830, therefore, the frontier line of the farmers was far in the rear of that of the woodsman.

Physiography, however, caused the two classes to meet and oppose each other in the state of Illinois. Bounded on the south by the Ohio river, the highway of the hunter-pioneer from the Southwest; and covered by a network of streams on whose banks were groves of hard wood, Illinois was first sought by the pioneers from Kentucky and Tennessee. Slowly, at first, these groves were taken up, but by the early twenties the Sangamon country had been reached and soon the valley of the Illinois was the site of hunters' cabins. It seems that a part of the wave of frontiersmen, which was crossing the valley of the Mississippi, paused, turned northward and followed the line of the Illinois river towards the prairies.

By 1830 the noise of the southern axe and the crack of the southern rifle were heard along northern Illinois rivers, but before the decade was two years old the outbreak of Black

Hawk's warriors drove even the most venturesome back to the stronger settlements of the south. The re-occupation of the territory was slow, the advance cautious and the volume of the stream from the South slight. An improvement in transportation facilities now took place which gave the agricultural settlers an advantage in the westward movement, and by opening a line of direct communication with the East, allowed the farmer to compete with the hunter for the first occupation of northern Illinois.

Boats of any considerable size were few on the Great Lakes and few indeed, at first, were the immigrants who came to Illinois by the lake route. The advent of steam navigation brought a flood of settlers from the East. Yankees and New Yorkers, despised by the men of the Southwest, were poured upon the prairies of Illinois and took up the woodlands coveted by the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans before the latter could recover the ground lost in the Black Hawk War. Consequently, a boundary was placed to the activity of the hunter-pioneer in Illinois.

So far in the movement of settlement across the continent the large farmer had followed in the wake of the hunter and the small farmer, buying up the clearings of the latter, extending their limits and devoting himself to intensive cultivation. Navigation of the lakes by steam reversed the order of things and the man who was formerly in the rear guard of this army of occupation was now in the front ranks. In the sense of making clearings for cultivation he was not a pioneer, for nature had already made clearings on a scale so vast that the settlers who wished to take advantage of them must of necessity become the pathfinders in the solution of the new problem which confronted the advancing frontier. A direct line of water communication with the East, therefore, confronted the best New England stock, and the substantial men of the Middle States with the question of the occupancy of the prairie. In short, northern Illinois did not go through the ordinary evolution which marks the growth of settlement in the wooded sections of the West, for the permanent occupants of the soil were the first occupants.

At the opening of the period, 1831-1850, the great prairies

which extended over central, eastern and northern Illinois, were scarcely marked by improvements save on the southern and western bounds, and then only to a very limited degree. The hunter-pioneer had shunned them, firmly believing that owing to many disadvantages they never would be settled.[1] This belief is only a repetition of the prophecy of Monroe, made half a century before, when he said, "the districts . . . will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."[2]

Inviting as were the prairies in appearance, there was a sense of vastness connected with them which seemed to overpower the observer, leaving on him an impression of greatness which could not be subdued. They offered a new problem for the pioneer to solve and of necessity he was compelled to approach it cautiously at first.

Thus far the settler in Illinois had by dint of hard work cleared small tracts of land on the borders of the rivers, erected his cabin and planted a crop of grain, trusting that from small beginnings he would, in time, be able to widen the limits of his clearing to more respectable dimensions. Wood and water he had in abundance and where these were lacking he thought was no fit habitation for man. Moreover, the timber always proved a welcome protection from the icy winds of winter and the myriads of flies in the summer.[3]

Timber was scarce on the prairies and what little there was, was grouped along the river courses leaving vast stretches of country without shade. Here and there stood a bunch of scrubby oaks, sometimes interspersed with rough and stunted pine and black walnut, hazel brush and long tough grass. From appearances the settlers reasoned that the sterility of the soil was responsible for such lack of development in the timber and the name "barrens" was given to such lands.

The water supply, too, was a most serious objection to any attempt to cultivate the prairies. In some places the land was low and swampy and required draining. Fever and ague at-

[1] *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer*, 12.
[2] Monroe, *Writings*, 1, 117.
[3] Henderson, *History of the Sangamon Country*, 174.

tacked the settlers in these parts of the prairie and proved a great drawback to settlement.[4] In other places running water was exceedingly scarce—so scarce that it would necessitate digging wells should the settler desire to keep any stock.[5]

Necessity, however, caused expansion and practically forced the first stream of settlers out upon the prairies. The earliest arrivals had very naturally taken up their abode on the edge of the timber, appropriating a certain amount of it for use in building cabins, out-houses and fences. The later comers could do but one of two things, either move farther west where all the timber was not taken, or move on to the prairie, going no farther than circumstances compelled them.

The prairies improved upon acquaintance and gradually the more venturesome cut loose from the woodlands and selected the higher portions of the prairie but in doing so they were careful to remain as near as possible to a road. The fertility of the soil abundantly repaid any additional labor necessary for the hauling of fuel, rails or house timber. In some cases, fuel was furnished by nature, for where timber failed, coal was often found[6] and could be mined at a small cost.[7]

Still, timber land was so highly prized by the settlers that it would bring more money than a cultivated farm of prairie land. The lack of timber was soon partially overcome, however, for the settlers early began to experiment with young timber and it did not take long to find out that within a comparatively short time quite large trees could be grown from seed.[8]

Reports of a climate severe in winter and productive of epidemics in summer made many question the advisability of emigrating thither. Although the climate of northern Illinois seemed to be about the same as that in New England, on the average, it was also subject to greater changes.[9] The snow

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[4] Lewis, *Impressions*, 277.

[5] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 30, 1848.

[6] Harding, *Tours Through the Western Country*, 8.

[7] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1845, says the cost of coal was but three cents per bushel. It also gives the price of land as follows: unimproved prairie land, one and one-fourth to eight dollars per acre; improved prairie land, seven to twenty dollars per acre; and improved timber land, eight to twenty dollars per acre.

[8] Jones, *Illinois and the West*, 35.

[9] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 30, 1848.

did not fall in such quantities as in New England but the cold was more intense and the winds which swept the prairies were harder to bear in these exposed districts. Domestic animals sometimes fell victims to the hard prairie winters[10] and occasionally some unfortunate person froze to death.[11] It appears, however, that such winters were exceptional and when one happened to be colder than usual it was recorded. The winter of 1830–31 was one long remembered in Illinois. Snow fell almost continuously from November until January, measuring in some places twelve feet in depth.[12] It was taken by many of the old pioneers as a convenient event from which to reckon time, showing that such severity of the climate was not by any means a common thing.

All through the period during which emigration came in large numbers to Illinois, a constant discussion was kept up as to whether or not the climate was favorable to the health of the settlers. So important was the question and so much effect did the discussion have upon travelers, newspaper men and writers of emigrant guide books, that in many places comments are made upon the general condition of health in the newly settled districts.

An examination of the statements made by both sides reveal the fact that there was a considerable amount of sickness in the new settlements and the older ones which were located along the river valleys. One account says that in 1840 "at Oregon City more than seven-eights of the inhabitants were sick at one time; at Daysville and at Watertown in a population of ninety or one hundred inhabitants not more than six or eight escaped; and on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers hundreds were sick and many more died in proportion to the number of inhabitants than on Rock River."[13] This is later modified by another writer who, while he admits that in the early days on Rock River there was much sickness, says that, "Since that time the mortality of northern Illinois has ranged on a per cent. that would contrast favorably with what are generally deemed the most

[10] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 100.
[11] *A Winter in the West*, 1, 202.
[12] *History of Greene County*, 286.
[13] *The New Yorker*, May 30, 1840.

salubrious sections of the Union—the New England States.''[14]

It was generally conceded that those people who settled on the higher portions of the prairies escaped the fevers and the ague which infested the regions around the rivers and in the low prairies. Exposure to hardships, lack of a comfortable habitation, unwise selections of places for the building of houses, the change of food[15] and overwork[16] caused as much sickness as did unhealthful locations. In spite of adverse tales from the prairie land and in spite of the distance from the eastern states and the inconveniences and slowness of travel a continuous stream of settlers spread over the prairies and began to build homes and to till the land.

As was the case in southern Illinois, the first habitations of the settlers were log cabins built close to the edge of the timber for protection from the wind and that fuel and timber for outbuildings and fences might be easily obtained. Generally these cabins had but a single room, but occasionally two or even three. Boards, shingles and puncheons were all made by the settlers and, while rough, they answered the purpose very well. Windows were few, most of the light coming in through the door and chimney.

In early days lack of furniture and agricultural implements was the rule, not the exception. One man came to begin life in the new country with no other equipment than ''a rifle gun and fifty cents worth of powder and lead, a little scant bedding and a skillet and piggin.'' Another had but a ''straw tick, a broken skillet, a bucket, a rifle-gun, a butcher knife and a steelyards.''[17] The prairie man needed more goods and since he generally came by way of the lakes he could bring such furniture and implements of agriculture as he needed.

Although log cabins were the first abodes of the prairie men they were not satisfactory, neither did they last long, for as the pioneers moved farther and farther from the timber the labor of hauling logs grew greater, and other expedients seemed necessary. Houses of a very comfortable kind could be built of clay

[14] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1845.
[15] *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, 2, 51.
[16] *Albany Cultivator*, 8, 53.
[17] *History of Johnson County* (Ind.), 330.

and roofed with lumber at no very great expense. provided the place was not too far removed from Chicago.[18] In 1841 ordinary lumber which cost from eight to thirteen dollars a thousand in Chicago sold for fifty-five dollars a thousand in McDonough county in the Military Tract.[19]

Transportation was the great expense and had to be overcome, for the Yankee was not satisfied with mud cabins. He had not lived in such dwellings in New England and therefore he made strenuous efforts to increase his comforts. Lumber, transported by way of the Great Lakes and hauled overland from Chicago was too expensive, but lumber was necessary and as a consequence saw mills were among the first improvements in the new country. With the advent of this industry the change from log or mud cabins to more comfortable frame houses was by no means slow. Small, at first, the houses of the settlers grew as necessity required and wealth permitted.

After preparing a habitation, be it a mud cabin or a lumber shanty, the next thing which the settler had to do was to prepare some land upon which to raise a crop and here, too, was a problem as difficult to solve as the erection of a dwelling. True, there were no trees to clear away but there was a sod to break which was so tough that it would yield to the plow but slowly. Should the settler hire some one to do the breaking for him the expense would be greater than the cost of the land itself.[20] If he did it himself the process was slow and laborious. Operations were begun during the last days of April and finished by the first of July,[21] for the sod when turned over must have time to rot or it would remain heavy and unproductive for two or three years. At the first plowing it was customary to drop corn in every second or third furrow, from which twenty or thirty bushels to the acre were often gathered.[22]

Ox teams to the number of three, four, five or even six yokes were used, hitched to a pair of cart wheels and these to a plow

[18] *American Agriculturist,* (1843), 15.

[19] *Chicago Weekly American,* Sept. 21, 1841.

[20] Marshall, *Farmers' and Emigrants' Handbook,* 403. Land cost one and one-quarter dollars per acre; breaking cost one and one-half dollars per acre.

[21] *The Cultivator and Farmer* (Albany), 1, 80.

[22] *American Agriculturist* (1843), 8, 15.

with a beam fourteen feet long and a share which weighed anywhere from sixty to one hundred and twenty-five pounds.[23] The furrow cut measured from sixteen[24] to thirty[25] inches in width, and from two to six in depth.[26] Deep plowing was not as satisfactory as the more shallow plowing, for in the latter case the roots of the grass would rot more quickly.[27] In some cases, in order to hasten decomposition of the matted tangle of roots, the land was cross-ploughed, but generally this was not deemed necessary.

Estimates as to the amount of land which one of these large "breaking teams" could plow in a day varies from one acre[28] to two and one-fourth acres.[29] When a team of horses was used and a smaller plow, an acre was considered an average day's work.[30] Between eighty and one hundred acres could be plowed in a season.[31] Generally, two or three seasons were necessary to decompose the sod thoroughly and render the soil light and loose enough to be turned readily by ordinary plows.

When the prairie man had broken his land, generally about twenty-five acres, the first year, and had planted his crop of corn, another problem presented itself. Fences were necessary to protect the growing fields from the devastations of live stock. When the farmer had access to timber the problem did not present a difficult aspect, for a rail fence could be made with a reasonable amount of labor, but when he was on the open prairie, some twenty miles from timber, another solution had to be found. Some firmly believed that any money spent on fencing the prairies was money thrown away;[32] but others persisted in experimenting. Sod, picket, hedge, board and lastly wire were tried.[33] All kinds were expensive,[34] however, with the exception

[23] *American Agriculturist* (1843), 1, 15.
[24] *Ibid.*, 1, 15.
[25] *Madison Express*, Dec. 1, 1841.
[26] *Albany Cultivator*, 8, 80, or *Cultivator and Farmer*, 1, 80.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *American Agriculturist* (1843), 1, 15.
[29] *Prairie Farmer*, (1847), 7, 140.
[30] *Albany Cultivator*, (1840), 7, 80.
[31] *Prairie Farmer*, (1847), 7, 140.
[32] *American Agriculturist* (1843), 1, 370.
[33] *Prairie Farmer*, 6, *passim*.
[34] Rail fence cost over one hundred and forty dollars a mile; wire fence, one hundred and fifty-six and one-half dollars a mile; board fence, one hundred and eighty-two dollars a mile. *Prairie Farmer*, 8, 302.

of the hedge fence, and this was objectionable, owing to the amount of grass and weeds growing up around it, and furnishing food for the prairie fires.[35]

Prof. J. B. Turner of Illinois College experimented for some time with various shrubs, hoping to find some one which would solve the problem of fence for the prairie. After several failures he found the osage orange would answer the purpose very well.[36] Ditching, embanking and surmounting the embankment by a three rail fence was also found to be satisfactory, and was used to some extent,[37] but it, like other fences tried, showed a woeful lack of ability to keep the farmer's hogs out of his corn.

Only when wire was at last manufactured in large quantities at a comparatively low price was the fence problem on the prairie solved. Up to that time the prairie farmer was accustomed to fence larger tracts of ground for cultivation and omit partition fences, leaving all his fields in one. It was advised that this method should be followed among neighbors, allowing them the protection of large enclosing fences and relieving each of the expense of division fences.[38] Often, instead of fencing the cultivated portions of the farm, the order was reversed and the stock was enclosed in pastures, leaving the fields open.[39]

Gophers and prairie chickens added materially to the troubles of the prairie farmers, for they dug and scratched out newly planted grain.[40] Sometimes the ravages of these offenders necessitated the planting of a field as often as three times in a season, and then the farmers would sometimes get only half a crop. Men, boys, dogs and all available combatants were enlisted against the pests and regularly organized gopher hunts were sometimes indulged in.[41] A more dangerous antagonist was found in the prairie wolf. This animal had a great capacity for stealing young pigs, robbing hen-houses and committing other depredations. To clear the country of them, hunts were also

[35] Marshall, *Farmers' and Emigrants' Handbook*, 97.
[36] Willard, *Early Education in Illinois*, 115.
[37] Marshall, *Farmers' and Emigrants' Handbook*, 97.
[38] *American Agriculturist*, (1843), 1, 15.
[39] Reynolds, *Sketches*, 102.
[40] *The New Yorker*, May 22, 1841.
[41] *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, May 26, 1848.

organized[42] and the days upon which they took place were holidays.

Wheat and corn were the staple products of the prairie, but oats, potatoes, turnips and buckwheat were also cultivated with success. Fruit, however, did not bring good returns to the farmer. Prices were far from encouraging,[43] the fact being probably due to the lack of a market. Since supplies could be obtained at very reasonable rates at the lake ports, and since prices paid for farm produce were higher in the lake cities,[44] Chicago was the natural center for Illinois produce. Although Chicago was a great deal over a hundred miles from the central Illinois counties, the farmers came in numbers from this part of the state, as well as from the north to sell their grain at this place and to take their supplies from it. The market was so far, that sometimes the farmers could go but once a year; sometimes they went more than once. In some cases a number of neighbors would club together, load one or two wagons, hitch two or three yoke of oxen to each wagon and so haul their produce.[45] It was not an uncommon sight in the autumn after the harvests were gathered to see in one day two hundred wagons, all loaded with farm produce,[46] rattling their way along the old State Road from Galena to Chicago.

In the early forties high rates for transportation along the Erie canal did much to keep western farmers from shipping their produce to New York; but a considerable amount, however, found its way thither.[47] While this operated against the western farmer and tended to depress his market, another influence from the East tended to make the lake route the natural highway for western produce to the East. England in the forties levied a discriminating tariff upon foreign wheat, flour, beef, pork and lard. Canadian flour was admitted into English

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[42] *History of Coles County*, 464.

[43] *History of Coles County*, 460; Lothrop, *Champaign County Directory*, 125. Prices were as follows: Wheat twenty-five to thirty-seven and one-half cents per bushel, in the best years sixty cents; oats eight to nineteen cents; corn ten to twenty-five cents; hogs twenty-five cents to one and one-half dollars per hundred weight; a cow and a calf eight dollars and a good horse forty dollars.

[44] *Madison* (*Wis.*) *Enquirer*, Aug. 11, 1841.

[45] Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 228.

[46] *Past and Present of Kane County*, 460.

[47] *Albany Cultivator*, (1842), 150.

ports at one dollar less per barrel than flour from other countries. Similar favors were shown in other produce. It did not take the Yankee or New Yorker of northern Illinois long to see that he could ship his wheat to Canada, have it made into flour there and take advantage of the discriminating duty in that manner.[48] This tended to center the wheat industry at Chicago and the growth of this industry is noticeable during these years.

In spite of low prices, however, agriculture flourished and offered better returns to the western farmer than to the eastern man. Less labor by one-half was needed, less capital was invested; the average yield per acre was more in the West than in the East and the cost of lake transportation was low enough to allow the western man to compete successfully in the eastern market.[49] The great problem before the farmer was how to reach one of these lake ports to dispose of his produce as well as to receive lumber and other necessaries. The outgrowth of these desires was the internal improvement system of the thirties.

The Illinois-Michigan canal was of primary importance in the Illinois internal improvement system. Joliet was perhaps the first to notice the possibility of connecting the Illinois river and Lake Michigan by a canal.[50] Governor Bond at the first meeting of the Illinois legislature in 1818 brought up the subject of the canal; his successor, Governor Coles, devoted some space to it in his message of 1822. A board of commissioners was appointed in 1828 and two years later an act to incorporate the canal with a capital of $1,000,000 was passed; but failure to have the stock subscribed caused the plan to fall through for the time. In 1827, Congress granted to the state of Illinois every alternate section in a belt of country extending six miles on either side of the canal, and in 1829 a canal board was organized.[51] In 1835 the first loan was made and work began in 1836, continuing until March, 1843, during which time the

[48] *Executive Documents*, 190, 28 Cong., 1 Sess.
[49] *New York Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1845.
[50] Hulburt, *Antiquities of Chicago*, 147.
[51] *De Bow's Review*, 17, 266.

state expended $4,679,494 on the project.[52] In September, 1845, the work was resumed and by 1848 was completed.[53]

Other improvements besides the canal were planned; $100,000 was to be expended for the improvement of the Great Wabash, a like sum on the Illinois and also on the Rock river; the Kaskaskia and Little Wabash were to get $50,000 each for improvements; the Great Western mail route from Vincennes to St. Louis, $250,000; the Central railroad from Cairo to Galena; the Southern Crossroad from Alton to Mt. Carmel; the Northern Crossroad from Quincy to the Indiana state line, and other minor roads were to be built.[54]

The immensity of the system can best be grasped by noticing statistics. A census taken in 1835 records the population of the state as 271,700;[55] in 1900 it was 4,821,550.[56] The debt authorized for these improvements in the first instance was $10,230,000, but the estimate was found to be too low by half and the state was committed to a liability of $20,000,000 or at the same ratio today the debt would amount to some $350,000,-000, a debt which the state would not care to assume.

So intent were the people in providing markets, in furnishing suitable transportation facilities and thereby opening up the resources of their state, that they did not count the cost, seeing only results. The immediate results were not what had been anticipated and with the breaking of the bubble of speculation and the collapse of the system as planned in Illinois, the finances of the state were almost ruined, simply because it had not the strength to solve the transportation problem.[57]

The livestock industry developed rapidly on the prairies. Abundant pastures were within the reach of all, and the farmer naturally developed the grazing industry. As early as 1818, some Illinois farmers had made it a business to raise cattle for the Baltimore and Philadelphia markets,[58] and the industry had

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[52] Moses, *Illinois*, 1, 465.
[53] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 485–6.
[54] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 436.
[55] *Ibid.*, 438.
[56] *Twelfth Census*, (1900), *Population*, 1, 16.
[57] Scott, *Repudiation of State Debts*, 199–217.
[58] Warden, *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States*, 3, 62.

grown steadily. Before 1850 thousands of cattle were raised on the prairies of Illinois, Missouri and Iowa each year and sold to drovers who took them to Ohio to fatten for the eastern markets.[59]

In spite of the fact that sheep could not be kept upon the prairies without considerable attention, especially during the winter months, the industry rapidly gained favor among the farmers. Heavy losses were at first experienced, due chiefly to mismanagement, for the animals usually purchased in western New York or Philadelphia were driven the entire distance during the hot summer months or the colder ones of autumn to a new home where scarcely any provision had been made for their shelter.[60] As a consequence many died.

Gaining knowledge by experience, the various branches of industry were soon put upon an excellent paying basis. Some found stock raising profitable, others adapted themselves to the cultivation of grain which at first was harvested and threshed by hand; but before 1850 these primitive methods had given way to more improved ones. Drills were used in planting the seed; mowing machines were used in cutting the hay and reapers for the grain; threshing machines, too, were used before the period was over.[61]

The effect of machinery upon the amount of produce was marked. In 1850 Illinois was fifth among the states in the amount of wheat produced; in 1860 it was first with an annual product of more than 23,800,000 bushels.[62] In 1840 Illinois was seventh in the production of Indian corn; in 1850 it was third with an annual output of nearly 57,650,000 bushels and ten years later it led all the states, producing over 115,000,000 bushels or nearly one-seventh of the entire amount produced.[63] Like increases appeared in other productions.[64]

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[59] *The Prairie Farmer*, 9, 305.

[60] *American Agriculturist*, 4, 247.

[61] Curtiss, *Western Portraiture*, 291.

[62] *Eighth Census*, (1860), Agriculture, 29.

[63] *Ibid.*, 46, 47.

[64] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 5, 436, gives statistics for 1840; *Abstract of the Seventh Census*, (1850), 89–90, gives statistics for 1850:

With the increased ability for handling large crops and with the possibility of increased land communication the farms tended to increase in size. Practically, the prairie man had done all he could in the way of subduing these vast stretches of land. The railroads were now necessary to solve the remaining problems. Each successive wave of settlement helped to add cells to the comb already forming on the edge of the prairies; but the process of assimilation was slow save where a line of transportation added its influence.

Pioneer saw mills worked away steadily causing a transition from the log-cabin age to that of lumber houses, but the change was slow at first. Previous to the opening of the Illinois-Michigan canal, lumber sold at sixty dollars a thousand in Ottawa; but the first load through the canal cut the price in two and successive loads reduced it still more. Freight rates the other way were high; at first the price for transporting wheat from Ottawa to Chicago was twelve and one-half cents per bushel. Later it dropped to eight and then to four cents per bushel,[65] a price which the farmers were glad to pay to have their produce taken across the swampy country around Chicago. This was in only one locality, however, and the other parts of the state were sadly in need of transportation facilities to assist in their development.

The life of the pioneer has characteristics which are the same no matter what his location may be. While new difficulties were encountered by the prairie pioneer, and he himself, generally speaking, was different from the pioneer of southern Illinois, there were characteristics which these two types of settlers held in common.

The first settlers of the southern part of the state were often

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	1840	1850
Horses and mules	200,741	278,226
Cattle	612,000	912,000
Hogs	1,446,000	1,916,000
Sheep	487,000	894,000
Bushels of wheat	3,263,500	9,414,600
Bushels of oats	5,682,000	10,087,241
Bushels of corn	22,524,000	57,647,000
Lbs. of tobacco	475,250	841,394

[65] *Illustrated History of La Salle County*, 1, 212.

of the wandering type and were constantly seeking new homes. These pioneers were followed by a second class of settlers who generally had some property and were able to pay cash for at least part of their lands, and to make additional improvements. Lastly, came the man of property whose idea was to cultivate the land in the best possible manner and become a permanent resident.[66]

The pioneers of the first class were poor, indeed, enjoying few of the comforts of life and too often were so lazy as to make no effort whatever to better their condition. They lived in rags and idleness, providing for their families by hunting and occasionally cultivating a small patch of corn and vegetables but doing no other work, leading, on the whole, a most shiftless life and seeking no advancement. Morality, too, was of a low standard especially among these people and the poorer European immigrants who settled in the South.[67]

The second and third classes were much advanced beyond the first. These people aimed to advance their material condition and worked constantly to accomplish their object.

Immigration to Northern Illinois after the opening of steam navigation on the Great Lakes reached such a volume that it seems impossible to make any such classification as has been made for Southern Illinois. There was no gradual procession of types but an influx of the agricultural type. So rapidly was the land filled up that a residence of three months in Chicago, for example, gave one the right to be recognized as an old settler.[68]

Travelers through this part of the state give conflicting accounts regarding the inhabitants and their homes. The general sentiment seemed to be that the settlers were of a class superior to the early pioneers of the southern counties. In many places "neat white houses, tasteful piazzas, neat enclosures and newly planted shrubberies" gave evidence of New Englanders or people from the Middle Atlantic states.[69] The people, as a rule, were contented with their homes and evinced no desire to emi-

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[66] Wyse, *America, Its Realities and Resources*, **2**, 349-352.
[67] *Christian Examiner*, **87**, 272.
[68] *A Winter in the West*, **1**, 200.
[69] *Ibid.*, **2**, 62.

grate,[70] save a few who desired to go to the Oregon territory. Occasionally surprise is manifested at the character and intelligence of settlers.[71]

The frontier, however, seems always to have been also the home of a disreputable class of people, and northern Illinois was no exception to the rule. The more quiet citizens were constantly terrified by gangs of horse thieves, robbers, murderers and counterfeiters. For years southern Illinois had been infested by such individuals and as the frontier moved northward across the state, these bands of desperadoes followed it.[72] The islands of the Mississippi and the groves along its banks were homes for such bands.[73]

The heterogeneous character of settlement in the northwestern part of the state is described by a New York paper of the time. It says: "The settlers here are all descriptions of people; foreigners, Canadians, Hoosiers, Buckeyes, Marylanders, Virginians, Kentuckians, Yankees, etc., with a large share of cut-throats, blacklegs, murderers, counterfeiters, robbers, thieves and all manner of scamps that infest a newly-settled country; and what is still worse . . . when any such rascals are caught, which is seldom, there is no such thing as putting the law in force or convicting them in anyway before they will be smuggled out of the reach of justice and get clear."[74] While the illustration may be exaggerated somewhat and intended to check the flow of population it also serves to show that among the law-abiding settlers there were also many who were a decided detriment to the country.

Such conditions did not exist everywhere. The frontier, it is said, brings out the worst as well as the best of men's characters and incidents may be cited to prove this. During the early mining days at Galena, men from the South and West congregated to work the mines, and these men as a class pos-

[70] Scott, *Journal of a Missionary Tour* (1843), 107.

[71] *The New Yorker*, Aug. 19, 1837.

[72] Barber, *History of all the Western States and Territories*, 248.

[73] The names of the Driskel brothers, Daggett, Bowman, and others for years were connected in the minds of the settlers with every outrage committed in the northwestern counties. *Galena Gazette and Northwestern Advertiser*, July 6, 1841.

[74] *The New Yorker*, May 30, 1840.

sessed and practiced many of the noblest traits of manhood. "As an illustration of their innate integrity of character it is perhaps only necessary to state that locks and keys were unknown in the country and all places of abode were always left unfastened and open to the reception of all, who received a cordial welcome and a free invitation to partake of every hospitality the 'dug-out' or shanty afforded. Debts were contracted without reserve at the first interview with a new comer and he seldom ever failed to meet his promise of payment."[75]

Most noticeable of characteristics common alike to the pioneers of the prairie and the woodland was that of boundless hospitality. The new settler was received kindly and given substantial aid by those who had been in the country longer; his cabin was quickly built and often in addition to assistance thus received it was not improbable that the friendly neighbors would furnish the new settler with some live stock if he had none.[76] One would give poultry; another, a hog; a third, a calf and so on until there would be quite a drove of stock upon the clearing. No matter how poor the new settler might be, if he did not show a prospensity to dispute over trifles or to complain of the disadvantages of the new country, and criticise the manners and habits of the people, and cite the superiority of things in the place from whence he came, he would be received with blunt frankness and unaffected hospitality. His reception was just as much of the opposite character should he presume to cast reflections upon conditions existing in his new home.

To the wayfarer, likewise, the western man extended his simple but hearty hospitality. Every stranger was made welcome to all the primitive home afforded. There was always a place at the table and always room for another lodger, no matter how many already occupied places in the home. This hospitality was extended in a manner peculiar to the frontiersman. He gave it in a simple, unassuming way and wished no remarks even if complimentary, and above all things he wished no citation of unpleasant things encountered before, or any mention of entertainment received elsewhere which was not so good. Such

[75] Parkinson, *Pioneer Life in Wisconsin*, in the Wis. Hist. *Collections*, 2, 332.
[76] Holmes, *Account of the United States*, 133.

remarks were considered as reflections upon the people of the country and from them it was inferred that like remarks would be made again and perhaps in connection with the entertainment then enjoyed.

The country and the surroundings of the pioneer seemed to change him in a few years. Even the quiet, conservative men from the East became rough, independent and simple in habits, careless of dress, frank in speech, friendly and generous to all whom they could trust. Seldom, if ever, did the prairie man fail to make a favorable impression upon those he chanced to meet. When he had reached a period of comparative prosperity nothing was too good for him. He lived in the midst of plenty. His cattle, horses and acres he numbered by the hundreds; his fields of grain and corn were wide in extent and he enjoyed his prosperity continuously which seemed only to improve his good-will, for nowhere could be found men who would obey the calls of friendship or answer the claims of benevolence with more cheerful promptness or with greater sacrifices to personal convenience.[77]

The daily life of the pioneer was a varied one. Besides cultivating his farm, repairing his buildings and agricultural implements he found time to hunt, to assist his neighbors and sometimes to make attempts to educate himself.[78] Besides the smaller affairs these pioneers provided for local government, for churches, for schools, for higher education and for the railways and telegraph systems.

Naturally enjoying society, primitive as it might be, these early settlers met often at races, shooting-matches, house-raisings, log-rollings, weddings, funerals, elections and on court days.[79] Political and religious questions were freely and sometimes violently discussed, at all such meetings and often with

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[77] Hall, *Sketches*, 2, 70.

[78] Mr. Conant records that on one day he "read the Latin Grammar"; on another he "made a coffin for Mrs. Dougherty and helped to bury her"; on another he "planted corn and prepared for the wedding"; on another he "married Betsy Kelsey"; on others he "made a table and borrowed six bushels of potatoes", "read a sermon"; "made a wagon" and on one day being unwell he "studied algebra" and "wrote a temperance address". *Life of A. H. Conant*, 43.

[79] *Western Monthly Magazine*, 1, 52. Haines, *Social Life and Scenes in the Early Settlement of Central Illinois* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, (1905.)

keenness and ability. News of the outside world was passed from neighbor to neighbor, for newspapers were scarce in the early days. Books were few. Horse-racing, jumping, wrestling, hunting and dancing were the amusements enjoyed. Card playing was not tolerated by respectable people and a fiddle was, to the church people, only the devil painted red.[80]

Active measures were taken by the legislature of Illinois to stop gambling. A law was passed in the early thirties by which a fine of twenty-five dollars was to be levied on any person bringing into the state or selling a pack of playing cards or a set of billard balls "or any other device or anything invented or made for the purpose of being used in games of hazard." A like fine was to be imposed upon a purchaser of the condemned articles, or anyone indulging in games of dice, billards or cards "for money or property" and a fine of one hundred dollars upon "any tavern keeper or owner of a grocery or tipling shop" who should allow any form of gambling in his place of business.[81] The pioneer had a standard of morality of his own and thought nothing of the free use of intoxicants. At every gathering the whiskey jug seemed indispensable, occasioning at times disturbances which, from a present day view-point, could never be overlooked.

Education[82] did not thrive well among the early settlers of southern Illinois. The poverty of the settlers, the hardships of frontier life, the long Indian wars, the slight returns which the lands yielded for school purposes were all so many hindrances. Save a few settlers who came from New England in the early days, the mass of pioneers was composed of people from Kentucky and Tennessee with others from Virginia and Pennsylvania. In these states the common school system had not been

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[80] *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Dec. 14, 1904.

[81] Extract from statute. (*Sangamon Journal*, May 7, 1836.)

[82] For a discussion of education in the Northwest and especially Illinois, see: McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, 5, 370; S. Willard, *Brief History of Early Education in Illinois* in *Report* of Sup't of Public Instruction of Illinois (1884); W. L. Pillsbury, *Early Education in Illinois*, in *ibid.*, (1886); Rev. A. D. Mayo, *Education in the Northwest during the first half Century of the Republic, 1790–1840* in *Report* of the Commissioner of Education, 1895–96 (*House Documents*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 5.); Rev. A. D. Mayo, *The Development of the Common School in the Western States 1830–1865* in *Report* of the Commissioner of Education, 1898–99, 1, 357–450.

developed and naturally little attention was paid to the development of such a system in early Illinois.

By an act of 1825, voters in any county might create districts, establish schools for white children between the age of five and twenty and maintain them by a tax of one-half mill on each dollar of taxable property. The law was not compulsory and unless a majority of the voters favored a school, none would exist. The people vigorously resisted the law and the legislature in 1829 repealed as much of it as provided for state aid and declared that no man should be taxed for the maintenance of schools unless he first gave his consent in writing.

Education was not wholly neglected, however. Here and there in the pioneer communities, teachers such as they were gathered the children of the neighborhood together in some kitchen or abandoned log cabin and gave them instruction for scanty pay. By 1840 Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Catholics all had seminaries of higher education located in the state.

With the influx of New Englanders and New Yorkers to northern Illinois, changes for the better took place. These pioneers believed thoroughly in the value of schools and wherever two or three families settled together, there it was certain a school was soon to be started. The Ladies' Association for the Education of Girls; the Illinois Institute of Education and the State Association of Educators with other similar organizations fought to bring about the system of common schools which was finally organized in 1854. The effect of the agitation is seen in the results of the decade 1841 to 1850. In 1850 there were 2,640 public schools in Illinois and 132,000 pupils in attendance—the number of schools having doubled in the ten years and the attendance increased four-fold.

In a general way the development of churches was the same. While meetings were held with regularity among the pioneers of southern Illinois it was not until the advent of the northern stream of immigrants that we find churches erected for every community of any size. The circuit riders were to remain for years until the pioneer communities were wealthy enough to maintain a pastor in each one.

It appears that previous to 1850 the agricultural pioneer had only made beginnings. His knowledge of the prairies was limited; he could see the problems confronting him and did his best to cope with them using such means as he had. The problems of transportation and markets were the serious obstacles to be overcome. Rivers formed one solution to these problems but where they failed it was necessary to construct roads. An examination of the location of the most important roads of the decade 1841–1850 shows well the needs of the farmer. From eastern, central, western and northern Illinois, roads centered at Chicago. Here was the supply depot of the prairies; here was the great shipping point, for lake transportation was cheaper than that on the rivers. Chicago was the connecting link between the land and the lake transportation as is shown in later days when so many of the great railway systems which tap the agricultural districts of the West center at Chicago.

The great unoccupied stretches of land between the timbered tracts were to be left for the settlers of the next decade to claim. When an increased use of improved farm machinery allowed the settlers to handle larger tracts of land with success and when the railroads penetrated the prairies and placed markets within the reach of the farmers, then the almost insurmountable obstacles presented by the great tracts of treeless land were overcome.

CHAPTER XV

Conclusion—A Resumé

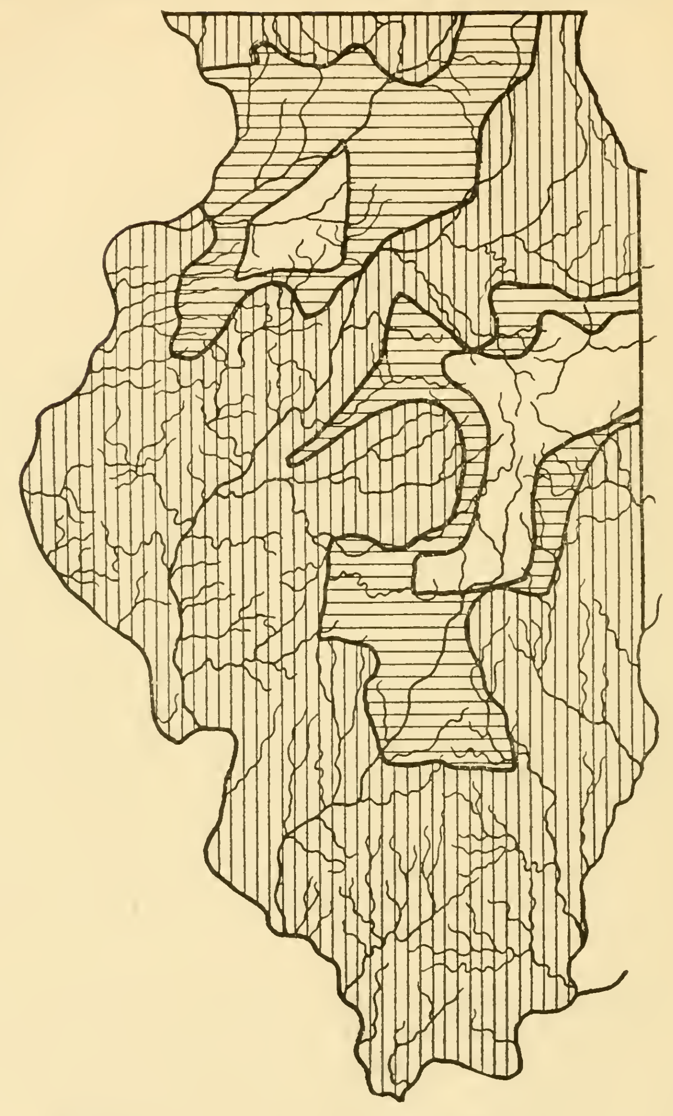
The population map of 1830 shows that in no part of Illinois were there more than eighteen inhabitants to the square mile and that about two-thirds of the state was either entirely unoccupied or had less than seven inhabitants to the square mile. The most thickly settled parts of the state were along the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi rivers. In the interior considerable settlement had been made along the Illinois and Sangamon rivers.[1]

By 1840 it appears that further encroachment had been made upon the great prairies, for all of the state, with the exception of a small part on the eastern side was credited with at least two inhabitants to the square mile. At this date the Military Tract is shown as settled and the outskirts of settlement along the Illinois river extended to Chicago instead of Peoria as designated a decade before. Population was densest on the western side of the state in a belt extending from Quincy to Jacksonville and thence south into Madison and St. Clair counties. The least number of settlers was on the northern and eastern prairies.[2]

In 1850 those parts of the state bordering the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi rivers were all credited with not less than eighteen inhabitants to the square mile. The strip of territory along the Illinois river was equally well settled as were those counties in the extreme north.

The prairies of eastern Illinois and of the Military Tract are

[1] *Twelfth Census*, (1900), *Statistical Atlas, plate* 6.
[2] *Ibid., plate* 7.



Six or more per square mile in 1840.

Six or more per square mile: added during decade 1841-50.

Less than six per square mile in 1850.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY COUNTIES

Eighteen or more per square mile.

Distribution of Population by Counties (1850)

clearly marked by the sparseness of settlement. No part of the state had more than forty-five settlers to the square mile.[3]

These maps give a general idea of the location of population, but in detail they are not accurate. Settlements in 1830 were entirely within the timbered tracts; by 1840 the frontier had moved farther to the north, but still the settlers clung to the timber. Not until after 1850 was the settlement of the open prairies to be really accomplished.

During the years 1831 and 1832 the beginnings of settlement were made in northern and eastern Illinois. At the first alarm of the Black Hawk War the settlers, save in a few instances where communities seemed strong enough to maintain themselves against an Indian attack, fled back to the more thickly populated portions of the state and for the time the spread of settlement ceased along the northern Illinois frontier. These settlements had been planted by pioneers of the hunter type and when the flight southward came it appears that the hunter-pioneers lost their opportunity for settling the woodlands along the rivers of northern Illinois.

Several causes operated to make this retreat before the Indians a permanent one. The trip through the northern portion of the state in pursuit of the fleeing Indian chief disclosed for the first time its wonderful resources as an agricultural district. Here we see the greatest effect of the war of 1832 and one overpowering the temporary compression of settlement during that year.

From 1833 until 1837 or 1838 Illinois had a wonderful growth. The last of the Indian land titles within the limits of the state were extinguished, and the Indians themselves were either induced or compelled to vacate their claims in Illinois and to cross the Mississippi, thus removing the last cause for Indian scares and reassuring the immigrants from the East that their families and homes would be safe on the Illinois frontier. Land sales were constantly taking place at the various offices of the state and the immense internal improvement system already planned and soon to be begun, lead the people not only of Illinois but

[3] *Ibid., plate* 8.

of the eastern states, to believe that here were to be presented numerous opportunities for rapid acquisition of wealth.

So far in the history of the westward movement the difficulties of travel had been many and severe. The trips made across the western country in wagons were tiresome indeed and the easier journeys down the Ohio had been attended with difficulties and dangers not to be overlooked, while a journey to the West by way of the Great Lakes was not to be thought of, since a vessel in the upper lakes was as yet a curiosity. The year 1834 saw the solution of this problem of transportation, at least to a great degree, for the advent of the steamer upon the lakes gave to the immigrant the means of comparatively safe and easy passage to the West and moreover, allowed him to carry more household goods, farming implements and domestic animals with which to begin life in the new country.

There has always been among Americans a disposition to immigrate to the West in order to benefit themselves in the attempt to acquire wealth. During the thirties this desire was greatly increased in the East. The national debt had been paid and had been divided among the various states; trade had reached a high development and there was a feeling among the people that money was abundant, that every one was well-to-do and that investments, in land especially, could not help but result in the rapid accumulation of wealth. The farmers of New England, especially the generation of young men who could see no future for themselves in their native states, began to look to the great West for a livelihood. The development of the wool industry tended also to consolidate the small farms into large ones, and those farmers seeing an opportunity to dispose of their small holdings at good prices did so with the intention of moving to a new country. In the middle states frequent reports came, telling of the wonderful opportunities in the western country. Pamphlets advertising Illinois lands flooded the states from Ohio to the sea-board. Since the subdivision of farms had. in the Middle Atlantic states, reached such a degree that the small patches of ground would no longer comfortably support families, and since renters began to see that in the space of a few years they could own farms in the West by the

investment of no more capital than they paid from year to year for rent, many were more than willing to try the experiment of western life.

All things seemed favorable for a period of speculative mania; money seemed plentiful, western lands offered excellent opportunities for the rapid accumulation of wealth, a generation of young men was ready to begin life for itself and lastly, the problem of transportation had, to a great extent, been solved. The result was a natural one; the period of speculation materialized and there came to the western country an unequalled flood of immigration.

Gradually the stream increased in size and by 1835 the speculation in Illinois lands was fairly under way. The stages, steamboats, hotels, taverns and places of general resort were thronged with land sellers and land buyers and in advance of the thickest of the throng like an army of locusts seeking to devour the broad acres of the National domain,[4] was the crowd of land speculators. Five million dollars worth of lands was entered during 1836.[5] Even business men of sober, careful judgment, farmers and mechanics formerly wary and conservative, added their stimulus to the ever-increasing scramble for land and invested to the utmost limit which their credit would allow. Individuals who had reached their limit of credit, joined themselves together into companies and with the aid of the banks continued their financial gymnastics.

It is estimated that during the years 1835, 1836 and 1837 more than five hundred new towns were laid out in Illinois,[6] each company believing that its town was, in the near future, to become a metropolis, the center of a thriving, populous, wealthy community. During the year 1836 in Will county alone, nine towns[7] were laid out, and Will county was no exception to the general rule prevailing in the state. The lots in these "paper towns" were advertised in eastern cities and many

[4] Salisbury, *The Speculative Craze of '36*, in Buffalo Hist. Soc. *Publications*, (1906), 4, 324.

[5] Davidson and Stuvé, *Illinois*, 434.

[6] *History of McLean County*, 487.

[7] Woodruff, *Joliet and Will County*, 33.

which today are sites of some farmer's field brought fancy prices.

It is not to be understood that, during all this period of wild speculation, Illinois received no benefit or did not increase in permanent population, or that no towns of this period were to become permanent ones. Some companies organized by New Englanders and New Yorkers were sound enough financially to withstand the shock of 1837 and to establish in Illinois, towns which were destined to weather the financial storm which swept over the state during the years immediately following. In McLean county the Hudson[8] and Mt. Hope[9] colonies; in Tazewell county the Tremont[10] and Delavan[11] colonies; in Henry county the Andover,[12] Wethersfield[13] and Geneseo[14] colonies; in Bureau county the Providence[15] colony and in Knox county the Galesburg[16] colony are all examples of the successful town building ventures of the time.

These colonies seem to have been carefully planned and well financed. The land upon which they were located was, as a general rule, purchased before any move was made from the East by the settlers. It is true that the success attendant upon these various enterprises was at first not marked but they were able to maintain a footing during adverse circumstances and to take advantage of the more favorable conditions which followed during the later forties.

The lack of success experienced by the Rockwell colony[17] in La Salle must be attributed rather to the drawback of an unhealthful location than to financial distress. The Morristown colony[18] established in 1836 cannot be classified as a successful colony because of the few settlers who came. An unwise pro-

[8] *History of McLean County*, 603.

[9] *Ibid.*, 597.

[10] *Chicago Weekly American*, Feb. 20, 1836.

[11] *The New Yorker*, Aug. 31, 1839.

[12] *History of Henry County*, 524.

[13] *Ibid.*, 137.

[14] *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Geneseo*, 5.

[15] Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County*, 331.

[16] *Stories of the Pioneer Mothers of Illinois*, (Letter of Mary Allen West, *Ms.* in Illinois Hist. Library).

[17] Baldwin, *History of La Salle County*, 375.

[18] *History of Henry County*, 135.

vision concerning the holding of land and the forfeiture of it in case of default upon the part of the settlers to make improvements within a limited time, operated to the detriment of settlement. The provision placed a premium on the non-acceptance of land, for by so doing the defaulter was able to double the money he had invested.

Illinois, however, does not owe her wonderful growth in population during this period, to the establishment of colonies. The substantial growth took place through the efforts of individuals to establish homes for themselves and to acquire property in the new country. Along the border of the Great Prairie in Eastern Illinois the numerous pioneers from Ohio and Kentucky settled. Fearing as yet to venture out into the open, they took up the lands near the sheltering timber and thus formed a net-work of settlement far out into the prairie without encountering any of its real difficulties. Along the great river system of the Illinois, the Kentucky and Tennessee hunter, following the experience of generations of pioneers accustomed to combat the difficulties of the forest rather than the prairie, pushed their way northward to meet the stream of New Englanders and New Yorkers following the line of the proposed canal. Across in the Military Tract the same operation was going on along the Mississippi river and its numerous branches. The lead region, of course, owes its development to other than agricultural causes or desires to subdue a new country. The Rock river valley was rapidly filling up, especially in the upper portion where water and good timber tracts were freely interspersed with the prairie lands. Here the southwestern and southern pioneer was seldom seen and New Englanders, New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians formed the greater part of the population.

Lack of money among the new settlers, trouble over land claims and the difficulty of getting lumber and supplies from the lines of water transportation, coupled with a lack of markets for farm produce were the only drawbacks to the development of the state at this time. Serious as these may seem, the development of Illinois during this period of "boom" was a rapid one and the ground work of settlement laid in the northern

part of the state during these years of prosperity was strong enough to tide the young communities over the trying years to follow when it looked as if the state was surely to encounter financial shipwreck.

In this period just described (1833 to 1837) the character of the settlement of northern Illinois was fixed once for all—the prairie man who was primarily a pioneer of the agricultural class, or the third type in the succession as followed heretofore, had now jumped into first place to the exclusion of the hunter and the small farmer. Events had operated for this and the result was inevitable. While the pioneers who had occupied the Illinois river woodlands were still safely residing in the southern settlements waiting for the last echoes of the Black Hawk War to die away on the frontier, events were shaping themselves for a new immigration of a different type. Restlessness had ever been a failing of Americans and it was increased after 1830 by a combination of influences. In the previously enumerated causes[19] may be found the reasons for the new flow of immigration to Illinois, and in the application of steam to lake traffic may be found the influence directing this stream of immigration, which gave eastern rather than southern characteristics to northern Illinois. Illinois land was as fertile as any in the West and land was what the immigrant wanted; Chicago was the terminus of the lake route, a natural gateway to the prairies and as a consequence when the great rage for speculation broke out in the thirties and a wild rush was made to the West, Illinois received a liberal share of the new settlers.

The hunter-pioneers who were again returning to the woodlands of the upper Illinois were few in numbers; the agricultural pioneers from New England and New York were poured into Illinois in swarms by the ever-increasing number of lake steamers. As the mania for speculation increased, the army of immigrants increased also, until all the available timber of this portion of the state was taken up. The hunter was primarily a frontiersman; the new immigrant was primarily a farmer. The former wished to keep the new country as a hunting ground, a sort of frontier; the latter wished at the earliest possible per-

[19] *Ch., II.*

iod of time to convert the new country into an agricultural one. The hunter's woodlands were taken up; he knew nothing of the prairie and in all probability did not care to cultivate it. There was nothing left for him then but to move farther to the West in quest of the frontier. In this contest for the northern part of Illinois, volume and rapidity of transportation had been on the side of the agricultural man and numbers and steam had won, over inferior numbers and slower communication. The result was inevitable as soon as the transportation problem had been solved, and to this element, primarily, it seems, must the northern complexion of this part of Illinois population be attributed.

The period of depression extends over the years from 1837 to 1843. Beginning in the eastern states the panic and its withering results swept quickly over the entire country. Speculation in western lands, in railways, in canals, in corner lots and river fronts tied up much money which was needed to conduct the business of the country. Overtrading, by means of which the country was drained of its specie;[20] the rapid multiplication of 'wild-cat' banks[21] and subsequent suspension of specie payments, together with Jackson's specie circular, precipitated the panic of 1837.[22]

Distress prevailed in the East, especially among the laborers and mechanics and in the rural districts the farmers soon began to feel the effects of the situation. Those who could get away from the cities did so and facing the West, looked to it to supply homes and a new start in life. Farmers were, however, not able to sell their lands, for there were none who could buy. Consequently it appears that the majority of the immigrants to the West at this particular period, could not have belonged to the agricultural class in their native states. It was expected that a great influx of settlers would follow on the heels of this panic and it was so stated by some of the western papers.[23] Observations made in the East show similar expectations, and they, for a time at least, proved correct. A Boston paper of

[20] *Banker's Magazine*, 12, 390.
[21] Walker, *Money*, 319.
[22] Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 94.
[23] *Chicago Weekly American*, May 13, 1837.

April 14, 1837, says "The emigration to the great west is rapidly increasing from different parts of the country. The present stagnation in business—and the disastrous effects upon our mechanics and laborers—will tend to send many of them from our large towns and cities, where their services have been in constant demand for some years."[24]

The course of events in Illinois operated against the rapid settlement of the state during this period. Had not its own finances come into such a deplorable condition, Illinois could have profited by the movement to the West. Local conditions coupled with the general unsettled situation of the country served to intensify the depression in the state and the six years following 1837 were perhaps the darkest ones in its history.

Thousands of acres of land had been purchased by the settlers and payments were regularly falling due. The effect of the Specie Circular was to draw off coin. Money became very scarce and the farmers, in order to obtain specie with which to make payments on their lands, were compelled to pay rates of interest which were excessively high. Twenty-five per cent. was exacted on five year loans and sometimes as high as seventy-five per cent. paid for one year loans.[25] To make matters worse counterfeit bank notes and much bogus coin got into circulation.[26] The agricultural class suffered severely, too, on account of lack of markets. Few or no cash sales could be made for farm produce and when such sales could be effected, prices were exceedingly low. Barter was the means of carrying on trade and notes were sometimes drawn, payable in a cow or a horse or other farm products.[27]

The state by 1842, was in debt $14,000,000 for money wasted on internal improvements;[28] the domestic treasury was in arrears over $300,000 for ordinary governmental expenses; the state banks were beginning to grow shaky and then to collapse. After July, 1841, no attempt was made to pay even the interest

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[24] *Chicago Weekly American*, May 6, 1837 (*Boston Mercantile Journal*, April 14, 1837).

[25] *The New Yorker*, Jan. 12, 1839.

[26] *The New Yorker*, June 5, 1841.

[27] Clarke, *History of McDonough County*, 60.

[28] Blanchard, *The Northwest and Chicago*, 1, 663.

on the public debt; taxation was high and the people were unable to pay even moderate rates. Illinois was in ill repute. There was no trade; real estate was almost unsalable; business was stagnated; everybody wanted to sell his property and move away but there were only a few either abroad or within the state who cared to buy. As it is summed up by Mr Blanchard, the increase or decrease of Illinois' population for the period was small for "the impossibility of selling (property) kept us from losing population and the fear of disgrace and high taxes prevented us from growing materially."[29]

Almost endless disputes over land claims arose during this period to increase the turmoil in the state. Squatters had settled upon government lands and made improvements and upon the sale of these lands at the land offices, disputes over possession arose, for often those who had purchased a title to certain lands found, upon their arrival upon their purchases, that they were already occupied and portions placed under cultivation by settlers who seemed not at all disposed to yield their rights to the disputed tracts.

Affairs began to assume a better aspect towards the end of 1842 and the people began to take courage and commenced to work their way out of the depression. Governor Ford, then the chief executive of the state, opposed with might and main the movement towards repudiation of the state's debt. Neither did he wish immediate payment of this debt, if it was to increase the burden of taxation. The sentiment of the legislature of 1842 and 1843 was also against any great increase of taxes, but finally a direct tax of one and one-half mills was levied for the purpose of paying the interest on the debt.[30] The most noteworthy move of this legislature was the passage of a set of resolutions in which it was stated that as representatives of the state of Illinois the members of the legislature recognized the legal and moral obligation of discharging every debt contracted by authorized agents of the state. Furthermore, the resolution contained a direct disavowal of repudiation, and as direct a statement that the revenues and resources of the

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[29] *Ibid.*, 1, 659.
[30] *Ibid.*, 1, 662.

state would be appropriated to pay its debts as soon as such appropriations could be made without impoverishing and oppressing the people.[31]

The wise financial administration of Governor Ford and the expression by the legislature against repudiation did much towards renewing confidence in the state of Illinois, and, attracted by the brilliant opportunities presented, immigrants again began to come in. The seasons of 1843 and 1844 were seasons of poor crops which operated against the state's prosperity and tended to delay the revival for a short time.

By 1846 there were $9.000 in the state's treasury instead of a deficit; the auditor's warrants sold at par, or nearly so instead of at a fifty per cent. reduction as in 1842; silver and gold coins were replacing the bank notes of a few years before and $3,000.000 of the state debt had been paid and the payment of $5,000,000 more provided for immediately upon the completion of the Illinois–Michigan canal.[32] It appeared that Illinois had at last started upon the road to a sound financial system and the increase of population by immigration during the succeeding years shows to what extent this feeling of confidence in the future of the state, was shared by such people of the eastern states as were seeking homes in the West.

The recovery was, however, not an immediate one in all districts. In the western portion of the state, in Mercer and Henderson counties, as late as 1848, it was with great difficulty that the farmers were able to procure enough money to pay for their lands.[33] In Ogle county, too, money was scarce for several years. Gradually the stream of new settlers increased, the timber lands were all taken up and the more venturesome settlers pushed short distances out into the prairies.

During the closing years of the decade, however, when Douglass' Bill asking for a grant of land for the Illinois Central railroad, was being discussed in Congress, attention was attracted to the prairie region of the state and upon the passage of the bill when the railroad became an assured fact, settlers

[31] *Niles' Register*, 63, 325.
[32] Blanchard, *Northwest and Chicago*, 1, 664.
[33] *History of Mercer and Henderson Counties*, 625.

began to take up the prairie land which had for more than twenty years been open for occupation, but had not been bought. The construction of the road effectually opened up the country, giving the pioneers something to connect them with the rest of the world.

In the northern portion of the state conditions were somewhat similar. Lack of communication and of ready markets retarded settlement. Chicago and Galena in opposite corners of the state were the only markets of considerable importance and carting supplies to and from these points was slow work. The northern railroad line was begun late in the forties and with it came an increase of population, but in 1850 there was still a great amount of unsettled country.[34] Some emigration took place from various quarters of the state in 1849 and 1850, owing to the discovery of gold in California,[35] but it was hardly enough to be of much consequence.

Lines of transportation and communication influenced the character of the settlement of the various districts of the state. On the outskirts of the Great Prairie of eastern Illinois, in the timbered portions, were found the pioneers of the southwestern states, who had come by the southern wagon roads to this district. Later the men from Ohio and Indiana filled up the remaining spaces. They, too, to a great extent, came by various wagon roads and finding good land in this region were content to settle upon it. In the middle Illinois river counties the same thing is noticeable as in the southern portion of the Military Tract. Contact with the central Illinois counties, which were populated to a great extent by Kentuckians, influenced the population of these districts. Going farther to the north we find in the upper Illinois river counties and the valleys of the Fox and Rock rivers, the New Yorkers and New Englanders. They had come by the easiest road, over the Great Lakes, and had settled in the northern counties before the southern stream had reached the northern timber tracts. Across the

[34] Lothrop, *Directory of Champaign County*, 122: Beckwith, *History of Iroquois County*, 337; Beckwith, *History of Vermilion County*, 801.

[35] *History of McLean County*, 232; Boies, *History of DeKalb County*, 404; *History of Sangamon County*, 536.

state in the lead region a community with southern sympathies was planted. The Mississippi river was the highway of commerce and travel for this part of the state and the southern cities were the outlets of its commerce. As a consequence southern influences were brought to bear directly on the inhabitants of the district. Many of the settlers were southerners by birth and this fact combined with the close connection with the South by way of the river tended to give the entire region a marked southern tone.

The importance of communication is shown by the fact that the chief cities, Quincy, Peoria, Rushville, Peru, Ottawa, Joliet, Elgin, St. Charles, Rockford and Galena[36] were on or near the rivers. Chicago and Waukegan were on Lake Michigan. Many of the small inland villages, through the influence of the railroads, grew to be of importance after 1850.

The census states that 736,931 native born Americans resided in Illinois in 1850. Of these 343,618 were natives of the state itself and 393,313 had come from other localities. Over 36,500 were New Englanders; 112,000 were from the Middle States; nearly 52,600 were from the South Atlantic States; 2,400 from Kentucky and Tennessee; 98,400 from the states of the Northwest Territory, and 9,469 were from across the Mississippi. New York sent 67,180 immigrants; Ohio 64,219; Kentucky, 49,588; Pennsylvania, 37,979; Tennessee, 32,303; Indiana, 30,953 and Virginia, 24,697. The other states each sent less than 20,000. Not one New England state is found in the above list, the greatest number coming from any of those states came from Vermont, which sent 11,381. The representation from California was the least of all—three.[37]

In closing the discussion it may be stated that the great pervading power which influenced the settlement of northern Illinois and built up this portion of the state with astonishing rapidity and which gave the northern character to its population was the development of steam navigation upon the lakes. It is true that the spirit of immigration pervaded the entire nation and that this factor augmented by general influences

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[36] Each town had 2,000 or more inhabitants.

[37] *Seventh Census,* (1850), xxxvi.

sweeping over the East and by local conditions in its various regions served as levers to start the movement westward with tremendous force; but it remained for the transportation lines of the Great Lakes to shape the course of the movement and to turn the stream into Illinois through its gateway at Chicago. In this respect the settlement of northern Illinois is typical of the development of the North Middle States in that the influence of the lines of transportation tended to reproduce in the New West hundreds of communities in sympathy with their parent states across the Alleghanies. The strong bonds of lines of transportation connecting the East and the West, tended to wipe out sectional feelings between these parts of the nation and the lack of lines connecting the North and South serves to increase this feeling between the North and the South. Sectionalism in the United States, with the increase of these transportation lines now changed rapidly from longitudinal to latitudinal.

Strictly speaking, the period from 1830 to 1850 is one of varied characteristics, but taken in the light of the solution of the problem of the prairies, it is one of beginnings only. The pioneer as yet did not understand the wide, treeless areas around him; he lacked confidence in his ability to cope with the difficulties they offered and he lacked the power to overcome these obstacles single-handed. Steam was again to be the key to the situation and during the following decade when the railroads spanned the state south and west from Chicago the line of communication with the East was completed. The market was brought closer to the consumer and to the producer, the problem of obtaining lumber and merchandise at reasonable prices was solved and most important of all, when the prairie farmer was finally able to see railroad trains cross the state day after day, he felt that no longer was he shut off from the rest of mankind when at last he swung clear of the timber and built his cabin on the open prairie.

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For the struggles of the pioneers with the prairies, local histories, autobiographies and reminiscences of the early pioneers are valuable, as are periodicals such as the *Prairie Farmer* which contains much information concerning the cultivation of the prairies. In the writings of the many travelers who passed through the West in the years preceding 1850, information can be had concerning pioneer society. However, it is well to use these accounts with caution since many of the writers were not friendly. J. B. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States,* 5, chap. xlviii shows the feeling entertained by English travelers towards the people and institutions of the United States. In the proceedings, publications and collections of learned societies are often found articles of interest treating of pioneer days.

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Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review (1839–1870).

Niles' Weekly Register (1811–1849).

Illinois Monthly Magazine (1831–1832).

The Prairie Farmer (1840—).

The Western Monthly Magazine (1833–1837).

Others which have been used to a less degree are:

Hazard, S., [Ed.] *Register of Pennsylvania* (1828–1836).
Homans, J. S., [Ed.] *The Banker's Magazine and State Financial Register*, **12**.
Land We Love, **5**.
Magazine of Western History (1884–1891).
Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art, **4**.
The American Railroad Journal and General Advertiser (1845–1861).
The Atlantic Monthly, **26**.
The Christian Examiner, **51**, **82**.
The Family Magazine, **6**.
The Nation, **8**.
The National Calendar (1830).
The New Englander, **52**.
Yale Review, **1**.

Scattered material has been found in the following Illinois newspapers:

Chicago American (1835–1842).
Chicago Democrat (1833–1861).
Chicago Express (1843).
Chicago Evening Post (for Sept. 5, 1896).
Chicago Inter Ocean (for Dec. 14, 1904).
Chicago Journal (1844–1853).
Chicago Times (for April 30, 1846).
Chicago Tribune (1847).
Gem of the Prairies (1847–1851).
Illinois Advocate and State Register (1833–1835).
Miner's Journal (1826).
Miner's Free Press (1840).
Nauvoo Neighbor (1843–1845).
Nauvoo New Citizen (for Feb. 24, 1847).
Nauvoo Times and Seasons (for Sept. 15, 1841).
Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser (1834——).
Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazetteer (1837–1839).
Rockford Forum (1847).
Rock River Gazette (for Oct. 14, 1842).
Sangamo Journal (1836–1838).

Semi-Weekly Galena Jeffersonian (1845–1855).
The Western Pioneer and Baptist Standard Bearer (1830–1835).
Warsaw Signal (for Oct. 13, 1846).
Western Citizen (1842–53).
Western Herald (1846–1847).

Newspapers published outside of Illinois:

Albany Argus (1813–1856).
Albany Cultivator (1834).
American Agriculturist (1842).
Boston Patriot (1809–1831).
Boston Weekly Messenger (1811).
Buffalo Commercial Advertiser (1844–47).
Cincinnati Chronicle (1836–1850).
Cincinnati Gazette (1815——).
Delaware (N. Y.) Courier (for Jan. 29, Feb. 6, 1864).
Delaware (*N. Y.*) *Gazette* (for Sept., 1841).
Genesee Farmer (1831–1840).
Greene County (*O.*) *Torchlight* (1838).
Louisville Weekly Messenger (1836–1838).
Madison Express (1839–1848).
New York Era (for Sept. 5, 1837).
New York Weekly Herald (1841).
New York World (1860).
The New Yorker (1836–1841).
The Ohio Statesman (1837).
Wheeling Gazette (for Sept. 1, 1832).
Wisconsin Enquirer (1838–1842).
Wiskonsan Enquirer (1842).

VII. Local Histories

Much of the material upon the specific settlements of the state has been obtained from county histories. When there are two or more of the same county, both are noted. They differ in reliability and must be used with caution. When the histories of two or more counties are in one volume, they are grouped in the summary under one title. The following works have been consulted in addition to county histories of other states;

Adams County, (1879).
Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, (1883).
Bond and Montgomery Counties, (1882).
Boone County, (1877).
Bureau County, Voters and Tax payers, (1877).
Bradsby, Henry C., *History of Bureau County*, (1885).
Matson, Nehemiah, *Reminiscences of Bureau County*, (1872).
Carroll County, (1878).
Cass County, (1882).
Champaign County, (1878).
Lothrop, J. S., *Champaign County Directory*, (1871).
Coles County, (1879).
Andreas, A. T., *Cook County*, (1884).
Crawford and Clark Counties, (1883).
Cumberland, Jasper and Richland Counties, (1884).
Boies, Henry L., *De Kalb County*, (1868).
De Kalb County, Voters and Tax payers, (1876).
De Witt County, (1882).
Blanchard, Rufus, *Du Page County*, (1882).
Richmond, C. W. and Vallette, H. F., *Du Page County*, (1857).
Edgar County, (1879).
Effingham County, (1883).
Fayette County, (1878).
Fulton County, (1879).
Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin and Williamson Counties, (1887).
Greene County, (1879).
Grundy County, (1882).
Gregg, Thomas, *Hancock County*, (1880).
Henry County, Tax Payers and Voters, (1877).
Beckwith, Hiram W., *Iroquois County*, (1880).
Jefferson County, (1883).
Jo Daviess County, (1878).
Kane County, (1878).
Hicks, E. W., *Kendall County*, (1877).
Knox County, (1878).
Haines, Elijah W., *Lake County*, (1852).

Lake County, (1877).
La Salle County, (1886).
La Salle County, Past and Present, (1877).
Baldwin, Elmer., *La Salle County,* (1877).
Lee County, (1881).
Livingston County, (1878).
Macon County, (1880).
Madison County, (1882).
Marion and Clinton Counties, (1881).
Mc Donough County, (1878 and 1885).
Mc Henry County, (1886).
Mc Lean County, (1879).
Duis, Dr. E., *Good old Times in Mc Lean County,* (1874).
Menard and Mason Counties, (1879).
Mercer County, (1882).
Ogle County, (1878).
Ogle County, Sketches, (1859).
Peoria County, (1880).
Pike County, (1880).
Ford, Henry A., *Putnam and Marshall Counties* (1860).
Rock Island County, (1877).
Henderson, John G., *Early History of the Sangamon Country,* (1873).
Schuyler and Brown Counties, (1882).
Shelby and Moultrie Counties, (1881).
St. Clair County, (1881).
Stephenson County, (1880).
Johnston, W. J., *Sketches of Stephenson County,* (1854).
Beckwith, Hiram W., *Vermilion County,* (1879).
Coffeen, Henry A., *Vermilion County,* (1871).
Warren County, (1877).
Whiteside County, (1877).
Will County. (1878).
Winnebago County, (1877).
Woodford County, (1878).

VIII. Biographical Records

In connection with the county histories enumerated, the following Biographical Records were of value in determining the nativities of the early settlers:

Bureau, Marshall and Putnam Counties, (Clarke, Chicago, 1896).

De Kalb County, (Clarke, 1898).

De Witt County, (Clarke, 1901).

Hancock, McDonough and Henderson Counties, (1894).

Jo Daviess and Carroll Counties, (Chapman Bros., Chicago, 1889).

Kane County, (Beers, Leggett & Co., Chicago, 1888).

Kankakee County, (1893).

Kendall County, (George Fisher & Co., Chicago, 1876).

Livingston and Woodford Counties, (1900).

McLean County, (Clarke, 1899).

Ogle County, (Clarke, 1899).

Rock Island County, (1885).

Whiteside County, (Chapman Bros., 1885); also one by Clarke, 1900.

Winnebago and Boone Counties, (Chicago Biographical Publishing Co., 1892).

Woodford County, (Chapman Bros., 1889).

IX. Histories of Chicago

A great deal has been written upon Chicago and its wonderful growth. Of the mass of material, the following works were found most useful:

Andreas, A. T., *History of Chicago,* (3 Vols. 1885).

Balestier, Joseph N., *Annals of Chicago* in *Fergus Historical Series,* 1.

Binckley, J. M., *The Chicago of the Thinker,* in the *Lakeside,* Oct., 1873.

Bross, W., *History of Chicago,* (1876).

Colbert, E. and Chamberlin, E., *Chicago and the Great Conflagration,* (1872).

Cleaver, C., *A History of Chicago from 1833 to 1892,* (1892).

Flinn, J. J., and Wilkie, J. E., *A History of the Chicago Police,* (1887).

Gale, E. O., *Reminiscences of Early Chicago and Vicinity,* (1902).

Hayes, A. A., Jr., *Metropolis of the Prairies*, in *Harper's Magazine,* Oct., 1880.

Hulbert, H. H., *Chicago Antiquities,* (1881).

Kirkland, J., *Story of Chicago,* (2 vols. 1892–1894).

Mason, E. G., *Early Chicago and Illinois,* (1890).

Moses, J. and Kirkland, J., *History of Chicago,* (2 vol. 1895).

Sheahan, J. W., and Upton, G. P., *The Great Conflagration,* (1872).

Van Dorn, L., *A View of Chicago in 1848* in *Magazine of Western History*, May, 1889.

Wentworth, J., *Reminiscences of Early Chicago,* in *Fergus Historical Series,* 1.

By Gone Days and Early Chicago, (A collection of newspaper articles on the early history of Chicago. Chicago Historical Society Library).

General Directory and Business Advertiser of the City of Chicago, (1844).

Historical and Commercial Statistics of Chicago in *Western Journal and Civilian,* April, 1854.

Industrial Chicago, (6 vols., 1894).

Statistical and Historical View of Chicago, (1869).

Other local histories are:

Asbury, H., *Reminiscences of Quincy*, (1882).

Ballance, C., *The History of Peoria,* (1870).

Bascom, Rev. F., *An Historical Discourse: Commemorative of the Settlement of Galesburg*, (Galesburg, 1866).

Carr, E. I., *The History of Rockton, 1820 to 1893,* (1898).

Church, C. A., *History of Rockford,* (1900).

Davidson, J. N., *Some Distinctive Characteristics of the History of our Lead Region* in *Forty Sixth Annual Proceedings of State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* (1899).

Drown, S. D., *Record and Historical View of Peoria,* (1850).

Eads, A. B., *Illustrated History of Rockford,* (1884).

Flagler, D. W., *History of the Rock Island Arsenal*, (1877).

Meeker, M., *Early History of the Lead Region of Wisconsin* in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Collections*, **6**.

Redmond, P. H., *History of Quincy*, (1869).

Roy, J. E., *Memorial Address and Proceedings at the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Genesco*, (Chicago, 1867).

Sellon, C. J., *History of Galesburg*, (1857).

Washburne, E. B., *The Lead Region and Lead Trade of the Upper Mississippi* in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, March 1848.

Woodruff, G. H., *Forty Years Ago—A Contribution to the Early History of Joliet and Will County*, (1874).

History of Dixon and Lee County, (1870).

History of the City of Elgin, (*Chicago Republican*, March 16, 1867).

Galena and Its Lead Mines in *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1866.

X. Foreigners in Illinois

Information concerning the conditions in Europe which lead to emigration can be found in the periodicals of the time. The location of this population in Illinois is easiest found in the local histories and in the secondary works on foreigners in the United States. The following works have been useful in gathering material:

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichsblätter (Chicago 1900—).

Schriften des Vereins für Social Politik, **52**.

European Emigration to the United States in *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1854.

Foreign Immigration, Its Natural and Extraordinary Causes in *American Whig Review*, Nov., Dec., 1847; April ,1848;

Immigration into the United States in *DeBow's Review*, March, 1848.

Manufacturing Emigration in *Littells' Living Age*, Jan., 1847.

The Famine Lands in *ibid.*, April, 1847.

The Revolutions of Europe, 1830–1840 in the *North American Review*, July, 1848.

German Emigration in *Littell's Living Age*, Oct., 1846.

German Emigration to America in the *North American Review,* July, 1820.

Our Poor Law Administration in the *British Quarterly Review,* April, 1868.

Present Conditions of Great Britian in the *Edinburgh Review,* April, 1851.

The Modern Exodus in its Effects on the British Isles in the *North British Review,* Nov., 1852.

Ireland and Its Famine in the *British Quarterly Review,* May, 1847.

Ireland in 1834 in the *Dublin University Magazine,* Jan., 1835.

The Irish in America in the *Metropolitan* Jan., 1857.

The American Review, **6**.

Blackwood's Magazine, **64**.

The Dublin Review, **1, 15**.

The Fortnightly Review, **8**.

The Harbinger, **2**.

Anderson, R. B., *The First Chapter on Norwegian Immigration, 1821–1840* (Madison, 1895).

Bagenal, P. H., *The American Irish and their Influence on Irish Politics* (London 1882).

Becker, M. J., *The Germans of 1849 in America* (1887).

Bruncken, E., *How Germans become Americans* in *Wis. Hist. Society Proceedings* (1898).

Burritt, E., *Ireland;* in *Littell's Living Age,* April, 1847.

Campbell, C. B., *Bourbonnais; or the Early French Settlement in Kankakee County* in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society (1906).

Chickering, J., *Immigration into the United States,* (1848).

Condon, E. O., *The Irish Race in America* (1887).

Copeland, L. A., *The Cornish in Southwestern Wisconsin* in *Wis. Hist. Society Collections,* **14**.

Engels, F., *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (Translated by Florence K. Wischnewetzky, New York, 1887).

Flom, G. T., *The Scandinavian Factor in the American Population* in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* **3**.

Hale, E. E., *Letters on Irish Emigration* (1852).

Kapp, F., *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (1870).

Köpfli, S., and Eggen, J., *Die Schweizer–Kolonie Highland in Illinois* in *Deutch–Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, April–July, 1905.

Körner, G., *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika 1818–1848* (Cincinnati, 1880).

Lalor, J. J., *The Germans in the West*, in the *Atlantic Monthly* Oct., 1873.

Levi, Mrs. K. E., *Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin*, in *Wis. Hist. Society Collections*, **14**.

Luchsinger, J., *The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wisconsin* in *Wis. Hist. Society Collections*, **12**.

Maguire, J. F., *The Irish in America* (1868).

McLaughlin, A., *The Immigrant, Past and Present*, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, July, 1904.

Nelson, O. N., *History of Scandinavia and Successful Scandinavians in the United States* (2 vols. 1893).

Newbauer, Ella F., *The Swiss Settlements in Madison County, Illinois* in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1906).

Onahan, W. G., *Irish Settlements in Illinois* in the *Catholic World*, May, 1881.

Rahr, L. F., *German Immigration to the United States 1840–1850* (MSS. Thesis, University of Wisconsin 1903).

Shea, J. G., *The Canadian Element in the United States*, in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1879.

Smith, C. W., *A Contribution towards a Bibliography of Morris Birkbeck and the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois* in *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society* (1905).

Steinach, A., *Schweizer Kolonien* (N. Y. 1889).

Traill, H. D., [Ed.] *Social England*, **6**. (6 vols. 1897.)

Turner, F. J., *German Immigration into the United States* in the *Chicago Record–Herald*, Sept. 4, 1901.

Young, E., *Special Report on Immigration* (1872).

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XI. Social Settlements

Amberley, V., *The Latter Day Saints* in the *Fortnightly Review,* Nov., 1869.

Beadle, J. H., *Life in Utah.*

Bennett, J. C., *History of the Saints,* (1842).

Berrian, W., *Catalogue of Books, Early Newspapers and Pamphlets on Mormonism,* (1898).

Berry, O. F., *The Mormon Settlements in Illinois* in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1906).

Bigelow, H., *The Bishop Hill Colony* in the *Illinois Historical Society Proceedings* (1902).

Brisbane, A., Articles on *Fourierism* in the *New York Tribune* (1841–1843).

Caswall, H., *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* (London 1843).

Gunnison, J. W., *The Mormons or Latter Day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (1852).

Gregg, T., *The Prophet of Palmyra* (1890).

Haven, Charlotte. *A Girl's Letter from Nauvoo* in the *Overland Monthly,* **16, 17.**

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Hinds, W. A., *American Communities* (1902).

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Mikkelson, M. A., *The Bishop Hill Colony* in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies,* **10.**

Miller, Mrs. J. G., *The Icarian Community of Nauvoo, Illinois* in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1906).

Noyes, J. H., *History of American Socialism* (1870).

Robinson, Madame E. Fleury, *A Social Experiment* in *The Open Court,* Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 1890.

Shaw, A., *Icaria,* (1884).

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Smucker, S. M., *The Religious, Social and Political History of the Mormons* (1858).
Stenhouse, T. B. H., *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (1873).
Charter and By-Laws of the Icarian Community, (1857).
The Detriments of Civilization and Benefits of Association, as taught by Charles Fourier . . . (1844).
A Handbook of Reference to the History, Chronology, Religion and Country of the Latter Day Saints . . . (1884).

THE SETTLEMENT OF ILLINOIS FROM 1830 TO 1850

BY

WILLIAM VIPOND POOLEY

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